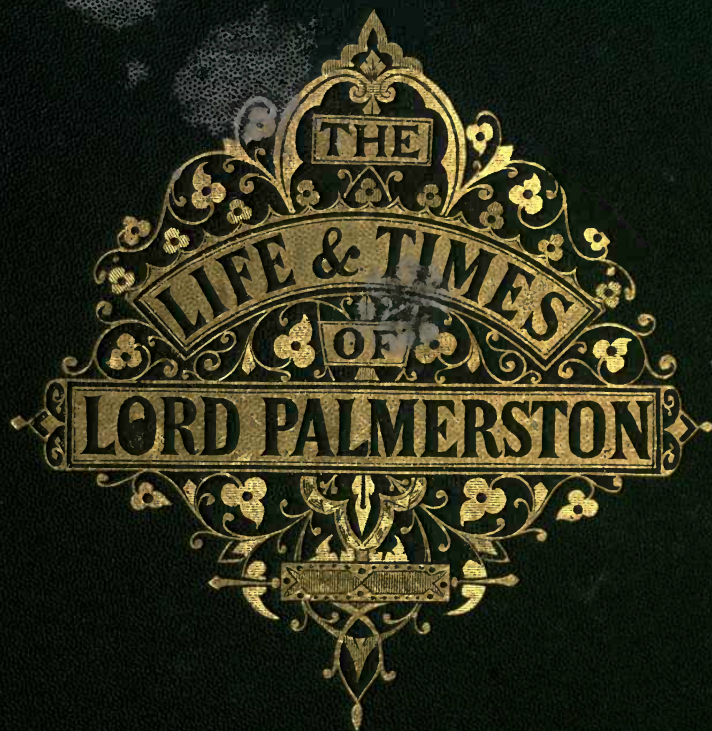


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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*Drawn & Engraved by Th. J. Fould.*

KING OF ITALY.













ADMIRAL  
SIR EDMUND LYONS.  
COMMANDER OF THE BRITISH FLEET  
IN THE BLACK SEA.





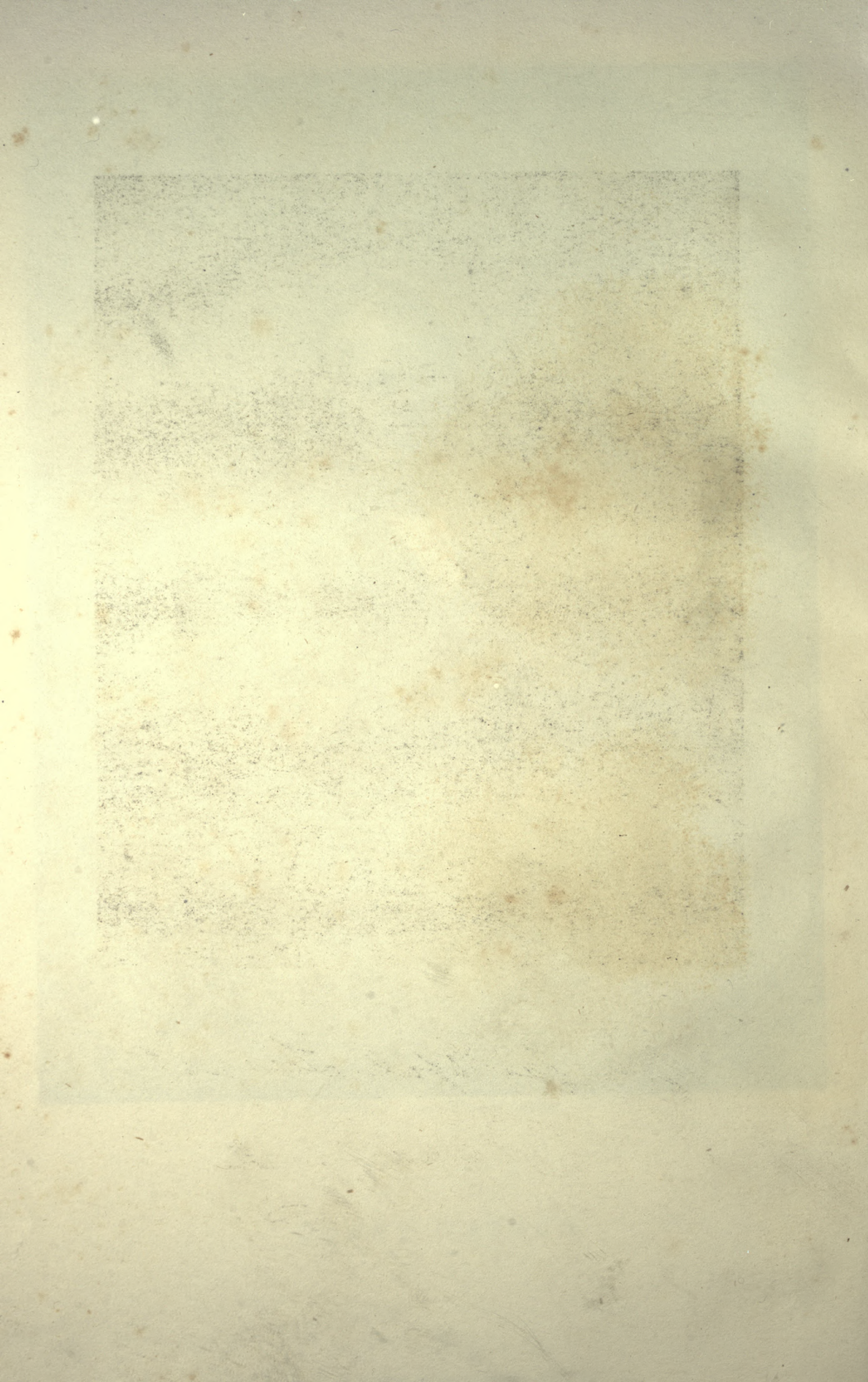
Engraved by D.J. Pound from a Photograph.

COUNT CAVOUR











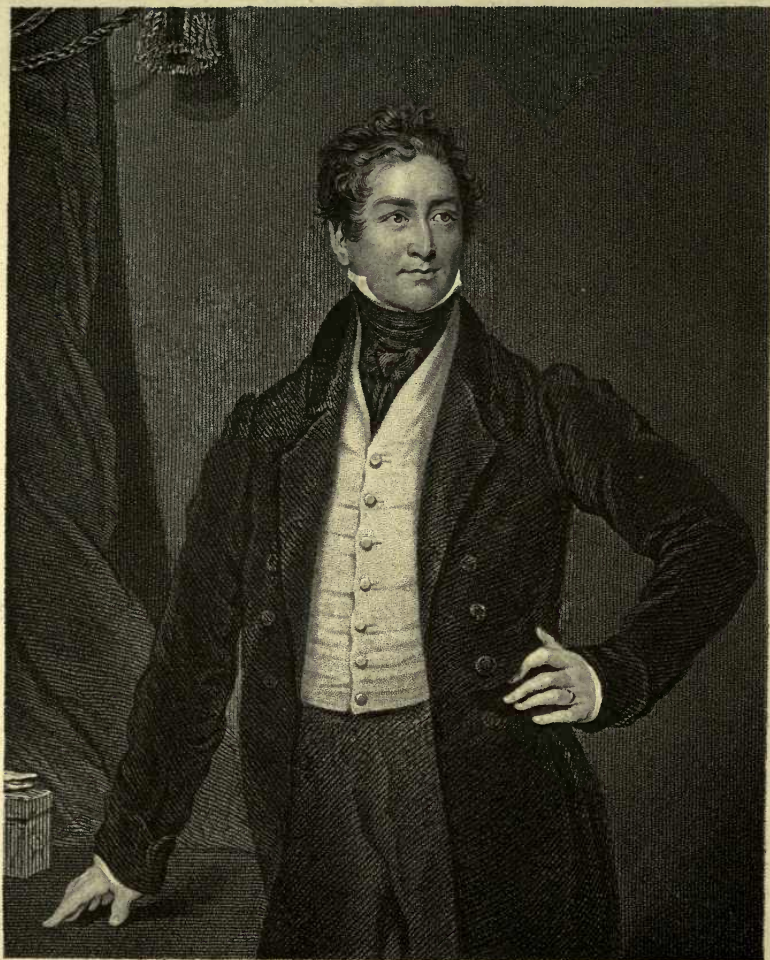


Printed by J. Currier.

Engraved by W. Hall.

*Your faithful Servant*  
*Daniel O'Connell*





Painted by Sir Thos. Lawrence, P. R. A.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

*The late R.<sup>t</sup> Hon. Sir Rob.<sup>t</sup> Peel. Bar.<sup>t</sup>*

*Robert Peel*

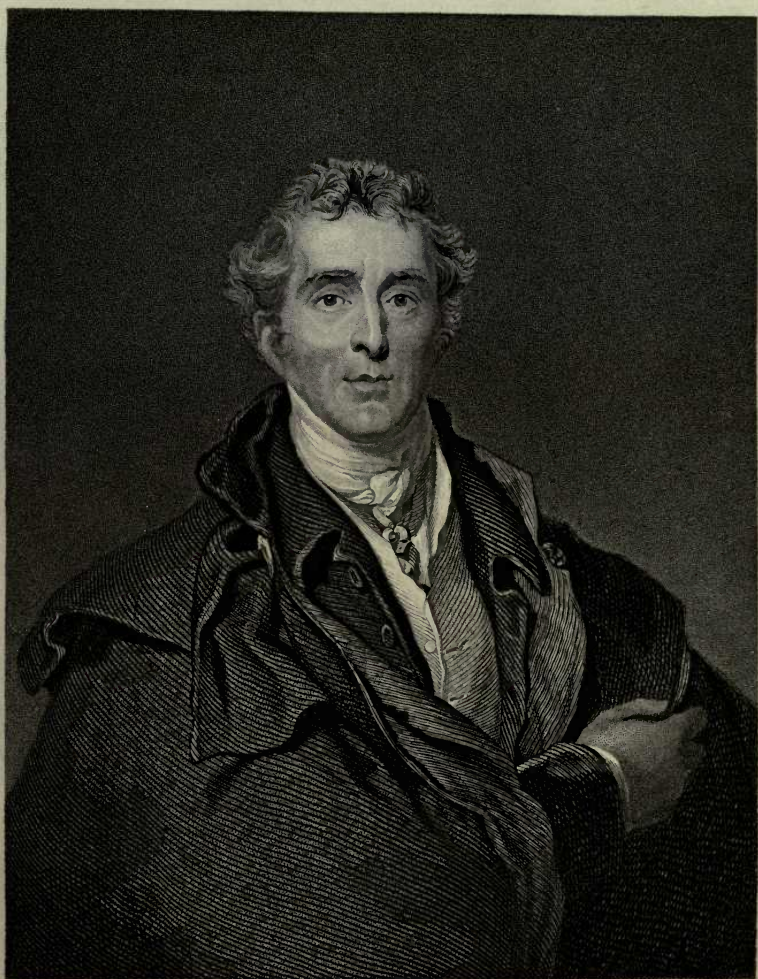












Painted by Sir Tho<sup>s</sup> Lawrence P.R.A.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

Wellington







The first note is from Baron Koller to Lord Palmerston, dated September 5th, and asks—"Notwithstanding that the general, before his departure for Dover, declared that he should not bring a complaint before the judicial courts," "that even in default of an accusation in the usual form, an investigation should take place in the establishment of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins, and Co., whose clerks appear to have been the instigators of acts of savage brutality." To this, Lord Palmerston replies, by regretting that General Haynau should have been exposed "to such infamous mistreatment." The third letter is from the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Schwartzberg, to Baron Koller, requiring that "the investigation which the baron demanded in his note of the 5th to Lord Palmerston, be carried on strictly, in such guise that not only the actors in the attack shall meet with the punishment they deserve, *but that the unrelenting arm of justice may reach also the chief instigators of the crime, who, in all probability, keep themselves in the background, and from a distance only moved the wires that set their puppets in motion;*" the Austrian government, from this note, appearing as well-informed upon the subject as the Austrian correspondent of the *Times*. On September 30th, Lord Palmerston, with the usual assurances of his high esteem, writes to Baron Koller, enclosing a note from the Secretary of State in the Home Office to the Foreign Secretary of State, which expresses "the deep regret and sympathy felt by her majesty's government relative to the scandalous attack upon General Haynau." From this note, it appears that Sir G. Grey regrets the general will not identify the parties committing the assault, as the police were unable to do so; and even if they were, Sir G. Grey thinks "a judicial investigation grounded upon such an accusation could scarcely be attended with any result, if the injured parties, whose evidence would be required by the jury and the court, remained voluntarily absent." Under these circumstances, Sir G. Grey is of opinion that "a judicial investigation of this lamentable occurrence would not be attended with any satisfactory result." Sir G. Grey states that he had offered the assistance of the police to Messrs. Barclay and Perkins, but they actually declined the favour! To this communication Baron Koller replies—"That he observed with regret, first, an endeavour to attach a secondary importance to that occurrence; and secondly, a deficiency of ready and earnest zeal which the occasion seemed to demand." He also thought that General Haynau's refusal to identify the guilty parties did not prevent steps being taken by the British government; for, added Baron Koller—"When General Haynau declined bringing an accusation, he acted upon the presumption that the British government would know how to make itself respected. Disgusted with the infamous proceeding, he thought he might be spared the annoyances of a personal application; and, as a breach of the peace had been committed, he still presses his former proposal." A week after, Lord Palmerston encloses a further communication from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, which second communication the baron rightly styles a copy of the first, and again presses the government to take the matter up. On the 28th of October, Lord Palmerston encloses to Baron Koller a letter from Mr. Addington, dated October 22nd, in which Sir G. Grey states that the case cannot be considered as Baron Koller would have it considered—as one of riot, and as a breach of the peace—without any special reference to General Haynau. Viewed in this light, says Sir G. Grey—"It was not such as would warrant the government of this country in instituting a prosecution, as the case could not be brought before a legal tribunal with assurance of success necessary in the rare case of a government prosecution. Irrespective of the difficulties of satisfactorily identifying any individual, it is much to be doubted whether it would be possible to procure witnesses to prove that the tumult bore the character of a 'riot' in the legal sense of the word, as it would be necessary to establish the fact that the tumult and disorder were of so dangerous a character as to cause public fear and terror. Much as Sir George Grey regrets that, from the causes assigned, the authors of the insults offered to General Haynau escape with impunity, he is



still of opinion that it would be very injurious for the crown to institute a criminal prosecution in a case of this nature without a strong assurance of success." On November 27th, appears the last letter of the series. It is a despatch to Baron Koller from Prince Schwartzenberg. He fully shares in the regret felt by the British government; and can only declare that, as the British government "could not decide upon adopting judicial measures on an attack which placed the life of an Austrian subject in danger, we cannot do otherwise than reserve to ourselves the right to consider, in a similar case, whether we should or should not act reciprocally towards British subjects in Austria." Chivalrous Austria! Whenever a British subject shall be insulted and oppressed, the Austrian government will give no redress. Austria is perfectly at liberty to do so. When we rear a Haynau—when we place him in power—when we lavish on him royal regards—when his name shall stink in honest men's nostrils—and when the Austrian people shall loathe him as the English did the destroyer of Hungarian liberties, the Austrian government will be quite at liberty to put into execution the threat it so gracefully hints.

The Austrian diplomatists, failing in obtaining an investigation contrary to law, and a prosecution without a prosecutor, respecting a plot which had no existence out of Austrian imaginations, indulged themselves in spiteful sarcasm and foolish menaces. The ambassador quite concurred in the opinion that, after the spirit displayed, the investigation would end in nothing. Prince Schwartzenberg soars into menaces, and says the Austrian government may, in future, treat British subjects reciprocally.

Prince Schwartzenberg falsely accused the British government of depriving an Austrian subject of the protection of British laws. He knew it was not true. He knew that Haynau himself rejected their redress. The brother of the Kings George and William IV., the late King of Hanover, was assaulted by a mob, and obtained redress by means of the witness-box. Her majesty, Victoria, would have had to appear in the witness-box if her evidence against any of her assailants had been indispensable.

The hint of impunity to Austrians who assault Englishmen, is one of the most atrocious things ever uttered by a government. Such a government outlaws itself.

This correspondence, however, did one good thing. It showed that, whilst the English government considered the attack on General Haynau as "infamous," yet that it dared not punish parties for that attack. England is not Austria. Here public opinion exists. A sentence against parties concerned in the Haynau affair would carry no weight, for public opinion was on their side; and the public support would have shielded them in the case of a government prosecution. No jury would have convicted; or if a jury had done so, the culprits would have been considered as martyrs by the people. Public opinion must vent itself in a manner more or less expressive. Men notorious for cruelty—men unusually bad, must pay the penalty for such notorious badness. Public opinion will pursue them. Public opinion is tolerant; but there are things it will not tolerate. One of these things was a woman-flogger. It is well that this should be so. We English did little for the Hungarian cause; but we were not bound to tolerate in our midst the man by whom the Hungarian cause had been cruelly trodden down.

We have thus glanced at continental revolutions in the troubled years of 1848 and 1849. At the beginning the people were successful; and yet, in the end, they failed, partly because of the brute force opposed to them—partly because of divisions and jealousies among themselves—partly on account of the wildness of their views; but chiefly on account of the fact, that they had had no previous training for political citizenship: because for ages they had been police-ridden, and had not learned to think and act for themselves.

In England it was otherwise. Yet 1848 brought its troubles to us, nevertheless.



As usual, the Irish took the field. An address was voted to the French republic by the repealers, who, approving of the revolution, regretted that they were not in a position to enact a similar one. Even the old pacific and the new thorough-going repealers were, for a moment, united. A confederate body was to be enrolled, and called the national guard; and a monster meeting was to be held on St. Patrick's day. The newspapers teemed with revolutionary articles, seditious letters, and inflammatory addresses. Rebellion was openly preached; armed resistance recommended; the mode of making an insurrection in Dublin was described. Barricades were to be built; the attacking forces were to be overwhelmed with chimney-pots and furniture; soda-water bottles were to be made into hand-grenades, and loaded with gunpowder; melted lead was to be saved with the utmost care, for the manufacture of bullets. It was intimated, that broken glass and crockery were most admirable as a means of preventing the charge of cavalry; and women were told how to get hoops bound with rags or tow, soaked in turpentine, and set on fire, and then to throw them at the oppressors' heads. The changes were rung on Saxon tyranny and Irish freedom; and gradually the people got lashed into a state of frenzy. Mr. John Mitchell, in his *United Irishman*, openly preached sedition. The *Nation* recommended national guards and drilling. Mr. Meagher raved about the sword; while the old repealers, in Conciliation Hall (as their place of assembly was facetiously termed), recommended the repeal members to prevent any legislation in parliament till repeal was granted. At length, government thought it was time to interfere; and Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Mitchell, and Meagher were held to bail, for seditious writings and speeches. Lord Clarendon was threatened with assassination, and the accused did their best to foment armed rebellion; defying the government to convict them, and trusting to the impossibility of verdicts being obtained against them. The Irish deputation, in the meantime, returned from Paris, where Lamartine had thrown cold water on their hopes.

The House of Commons passed a Government Security Bill. On the occasion of the second reading, Mr. Smith O'Brien, who had returned from Paris, complained that he had been called traitor in his absence. In reply, Sir George Grey said—"I did not call him a traitor; but I read to the House a portion of the report of a meeting of the Irish confederation—namely, the announcement made by Mr. Duffy, that he had received a message from the honourable gentleman at Paris, in which he cast to the winds the discouraging reply he had received from M. Lamartine, who, with public virtue, refused to encourage his designs—be they seditious, or traitorous, or loyal, as the honourable gentleman pretends—knowing that, if he encouraged such designs, he should be violating the law of nations, and giving a good cause of war to England against France. I ask the honourable gentleman whether he is prepared to disavow the truth of that message which Mr. Duffy announced as having been sent from Paris by him, and which was to be the exponent of the sentiment of the French nation, casting aside the language of M. Lamartine? I ask the honourable gentleman whether he did say to the Irish Club, at Paris, 'Every new proof of sympathy renders us more able to serve the cause of our country. The satisfaction which we feel, arises, above all, from the fact that we have found that there are, at Paris, Irishmen who are determined to unite their efforts to those of the Irish people in reconquering their national independence. Though we have been in France but a few days, we have seen and heard enough to feel assured that, were Ireland to demand assistance, France would be ready to send 50,000 of her bravest citizens to fight with her for liberty. We offer to the French our sincere thanks for their generous sympathy. That sympathy may be to us, later, a great assistance; but we feel that the liberty of Ireland should be conquered by the energy, the devotion, and the courage of her own children.' The honourable gentleman writes to Mr. Duffy—'We will, if we can, institute a successful rebellion; still, if we should be worsted in the struggle, I promise the assistance of 50,000 Frenchmen.'"



At Limerick, the Irish rose, not against the base, bloody, and brutal Saxon (as O'Connell loved to term him), but against each other. It appeared that the populace in that part of the country were O'Connellites, and received the physical-force men in anything but a conciliatory manner. The meeting had hardly opened when the mob, who had given a foretaste of their disposition by hooting the patriots the day before, showed tokens of a lively difference of opinion by breaking the windows, and endeavouring to smoke out the audience by blazing tar-barrels. The townspeople sent a shower of missiles at the physical-force men inside. Some of these had, however, come armed; the rest tore up benches, and armed themselves with the fragments. The women being removed, a sally was agreed on. The chief enmity of the mob was directed against Mitchell: practically, however, there was no distinction; and when the mayor and the police arrived, the heroes were carried off the field with broken heads, intensely disgusted with the warm reception they had met. Such was the excitement of the town that they had to be carried off by stratagem. Being put in the mail, which was horsed inside the yard of the hotel, they were brought off under the noses of the mob. The whole story was given in a very humorous ballad in *Punch*, by Mr. Thackeray. In verse not easily forgotten, the poet sang how Smith O'Brien—

“ This valiant son of Mars,  
Had been to visit Par's,  
That land of revolution that grows the tricolour;  
And to welcome his return,  
From pilgrimages furren,  
We invited him to tea on the Shannon shore.

“ Then we summoned to our board  
Young Meagher of the sword;  
'Tis he will sheathe that battle-axe in Saxon gore;  
And Mitchell, of Belfast,  
We bade to our repast,  
To dthrink a dish of coffee on the Shannon shore.

“ Convaniently to hould  
These patriots so bould,  
We tuck the opportunity of Tim Doolan's store,  
And with ornamentals and banners  
(As becomes gintale good manners),  
We made the loveliest tay-room upon Shannon shore.”

The patriots were tried; but, of course, not convicted: the jury could not agree. They came down to the court in triumph; and were greeted, on their arrival, with cheers, in which some of the barristers joined. In Meagher's case, eleven of the jury were for a conviction; the twelfth, a papist, stood out; and he escaped that time. These trials took place about the middle of May. Towards the end of the month, Mitchell, after considerable delay and legal argument, was tried and convicted; and he was very quickly transported to the colonies, where he distinguished himself by repudiating his parole, and escaping to the United States. Father Kenyon, one of the confederates, undertook to continue the *United Irishman*, under the name of the *Felon*; while a subscription was got up on behalf of his wife.

In Ireland, the expatriation of Mitchell was a signal for invective from repealers and physical-force men; and a serious endeavour was made to unite the two parties by leaving rebellion an open question. Mr. John O'Connell had given his assent to the union; the rival associations were to be dissolved, and, out of the materials, a new organisation was to be formed. However, the contracting parties fell out, and Mr. O'Connell threatened to retire into private life. The party of action became fiercer than ever. Drilling and organisation went on; clubs were formed, and divided into sections; instructions were issued; and, towards the middle of July, things were sufficiently advanced for the troops to be inspected. On the 22nd of July, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, on the application of Lord John Russell.



The Irish agitators left Dublin for the south the same day. A large district round Carrick Suir was on the verge of open rebellion; and Mr. Smith O'Brien was said to be at the head of 10,000 men. Warrants were issued for the apprehension of the leaders; and, at length, came the explosion—ridiculously small after the inflammatory language of the last few months.

On the Tuesday, Mr. Smith O'Brien arrived at the house of Mr. Wright, at Mullinahone, and addressed the crowd in his usual warlike style. The populace assembled in great numbers that night to guard the house. Next morning he dismissed them for a time, and endeavoured, but in vain, to tamper with the police. On the Thursday he returned to Mullinahone, and got his followers again about him; but the priest interfered, and succeeded in dispersing them all but a hundred men, who remained with their leader. He was dressed in a magnificent green uniform, with sash and epaulets, in which he bivouacked for the night in the fields. On the next day, however, he reassembled his followers, and, late at night, made his appearance in the village of Commons, with some other gentlemen, and three jaunting cars, and upwards of 1,000 armed followers, whom he drilled and marshalled.

Meanwhile intelligence had been received, in the middle of Friday night, that O'Brien, Meagher, and others had been proclaimed traitors, and that a reward of £500 had been offered for the apprehension of the former, and £300 for that of the latter. Immediately this was known, Mr. Blake, the county inspector of constabulary, set out to effect their capture. Having learnt that Mr. O'Brien had passed the night among the colliers in the neighbourhood of Ballingarry, he sent a message to the constables of the surrounding district, who had been previously concentrated at Callan, to the number of some sixty men, under chief constable Trant. He also sent to the magistrates of Kilkenny for soldiers, who did not come, but left all the glory of the capture to the police.

In the middle of the day the action began. Mr. O'Brien had posted his army on the top of a considerable mound of refuse from the pits; and, about twelve o'clock, they received notice from their scouts of the approach of the police. At half-past twelve they came in sight; and, seeing the enemy more numerous than they anticipated, made for the friendly shelter of the widow M'Cormack's cottage, by the wayside, who had left home to fetch her children from the national schools ere the war began. This cottage the police barricaded, and made as secure as they could, to the alarm of the widow. In this fortress the police were besieged by the rebels. A volley was fired from the house. The firing lasted ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. Mr. O'Brien was seen crawling past the gate, among the cabbages, on his stomach. The police fired at him; on which he rolled over, but only, as it seemed, to avoid being hit. After one of the assailants had been killed, and two more badly wounded, the mob retired out of reach of shot, while their leader paced up and down in great agitation, musing over his ruined hopes; for the battle had been fought and lost.

However, one prisoner fell into rebel hands. It seems the authorities of Kilkenny had sent a police-sergeant, Carrol, to prevent Inspector Trant from marching; but he arrived too late, and followed to the battle-field. Thence he was sent by Trant for reinforcements; but, on his way, was captured, and had his horse taken from him by Mr. O'Brien: however, Carrol managed to effect his escape, and, in his flight, met Mr. Smith O'Brien, mounted on his own horse—having, in the meanwhile, doffed his uniform. On seeing the officer, O'Brien drew a pistol, and talked of shooting him; but, on being remonstrated with by the sergeant for drawing a weapon on an unarmed man, he put it up, eventually gave up the horse, and made the sergeant a present of a walking-stick. He then left Sergeant Carrol, and remained some days in hiding. After a time, the sergeant reached Kilkenny, and help was sent to Trant, who would not give up his post till he had reinforcements, supposing that the rebels had only retired as a trick, in order to get him out of the house.



So ended the Irish rebellion of 1848. The leaders hid themselves. Mr. O'Brien, who had previously made over his property to his relatives, was nowhere to be found. Mr. Meagher, of the sword, was similarly missing. Notices were published, that persons harbouring traitors were liable to the penalties of treason, and that they would be enforced against them. After a few days, Mr. O'Brien was captured at a railway station, by an English railway official, and sent off to Dublin. It is to the honour of the Irish peasant that he never acted the part of an informer; though, had he done so, he would have secured £500 for himself. It is a pity that a people thus endowed with true nobility should ever be the dupes and the prey of the agitator or the priest.

In due time the Irish rebels were tried and condemned, and sentenced to transportation. In due time, also, to Mr. O'Brien, no longer disposed to be a leader of rebels, a full pardon was granted.

Yet Ireland is as far from having achieved peace and prosperity as ever. While we write (1866), the Habeas Corpus Act is still suspended. Whig and Tory alike find Ireland a difficulty they cannot overcome. The church question, it is to be feared, is the main source of the difficulty; and that no English minister is strong enough, or has courage enough, to touch.

In Scotland there was but little unquiet feeling at this time, as there was but little cause for it in the condition of the people. There was a meeting in Glasgow, at which allusions were made to the doings in Paris, and the manner in which the French people had rid themselves of their oppressors. A mob attacked the bakers' shops; but pillage, and not revolution, was their object. The authorities swore in special constables, and the mob was driven into the smaller streets, and defeated. On the following day, large numbers of famishing weavers from Hamilton, Johnstone, and Paisley, and colliers from Airdrie, flocked in. The magistrates met at noon; declared they expected an immediate assault upon the city; and, with 1,500 men, prepared to meet a mob of 80,000. In Main Street, a body of pensioners were surrounded and pelted. They fired two volleys over the heads of the populace; but the attack became determined, and they were compelled, in self-defence, to fire: seven persons fell, and the mob fled. In Edinburgh, also, a riot took place, but presented no peculiar features. The Riot Act was read, and the affair was crushed without any very extraordinary exertions; and though an attempt to collect a crowd was made on the following day, it was dispersed by a heavy shower.

When the French revolution was known in London, the mob, as usual, was very much excited. A person of the name of Cochrane called a meeting in Trafalgar Square on the 6th of March. It was prohibited as illegal by the police, and the agitator did not come; but the mob did. They marched along Pall Mall, broke some windows, and came back by way of Westminster.

On April 10th, the Chartists had their attempt at a demonstration on Kensington Common; but it was made much more of than its intrinsic importance justified. The Duke of Wellington, who had command of the troops, placed them in strong positions, but out of sight. The police occupied the bridges, and the line along which the Chartists were to pass. Special constables were sworn in all over the metropolis—one of them being the present Emperor of the French; and the enormous mass of the people who had volunteered their service to the help of government, showed clearly on which side were popular sympathies, and how little disposition there was, on the part of Englishmen, for a revolution. The government in this country rested on moral, rather than physical support. It was upheld by the power of public opinion—in fact, by the people, who, according to the Whig toast, are the only source of political power.

Let us note a little this the last of the Chartist demonstrations. They were to meet at different points which had been named—at Russell Square, Clerkenwell Green, Finsbury Square, and Whitechapel. Thence they marched in irregular columns. The "National Convention," as it was called, proceeded from its place



of meeting in John Street. At Kennington Common, the appointed rendezvous, Mr. Feargus O'Connor received a message from the police commissioners, to the effect that, if peaceable, the meeting would not be interfered with; whereupon he made a most pacific speech, promising to go down on his knees to them if they would but keep the peace. The monster petition was then forwarded to the House of Commons in several cabs. Its prayer was, that the six points of the People's Charter might be conceded—namely, annual parliaments; universal suffrage; vote by ballot; equal electoral districts; no property qualifications; and the payment of members. The bulk of the petition was so enormous that it was necessary to divide it to carry it into the House; and when there, it was deposited in five masses. The first sheet, containing the prayer, having been detached from the rest, was read by the clerk. The petition covered Chartism with ridicule. It was said to contain 5,000,000 of signatures; but an immense number of them were forgeries. The names of *Victoria Rex*, the Duke of Wellington, Colonel Sibthorp, and other distinguished or well-known persons, were attached to it by scores. Other sham names, such as Flat-nose, Pug-nose, No Cheese, and others equally fictitious, but far more indelicate, were added. Many consecutive sheets of signatures were written in the same hand; and on one it was stated, "We were paid for no more"—thus demonstrating the absurd character of the whole proceeding. The exposure gave Chartism its death-blow.

On the following day the Convention held a sitting, which provoked still further laughter and contempt. One of the speakers, Cuffey, stated that he had been for some time out of work, and that, in consequence, he had allowed Mrs. Cuffey to go out charing. At one of the places in which she had been in the habit of working, she was asked whether she was not the wife of Mr. Cuffey, of the Convention; and on her replying that she was, she was told that her services would not be required after that week. Alas! poor Cuffey! He and some of his associates were shortly afterwards arrested, convicted, and punished by transportation and imprisonment.

In the House of Commons, the forgery in connection with the people's petition gave rise to rather a sharp discussion; and Mr. Cripps, a member of the committee on petitions, having stated pretty plainly the distrust he should henceforth feel for statements issuing from Mr. O'Connor, a warm personal collision took place between the two gentlemen, after which Mr. O'Connor left the House. The interference of the Speaker was then called for, who expressed his hope that Mr. Cripps would disclaim any intention of personal offence. Mr. Cripps, thus appealed to, readily made the disclaimer required. Lord John Russell moved that Mr. F. O'Connor be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. Mr. O'Connor, at a later hour of the evening, was brought to the bar; and after reciprocal explanations had been given, and each of the members concerned had expressed himself satisfied, the matter dropped. In the course of the discussion, Mr. J. A. Smith stated the estimate which had been formed, from careful observation, of the Chartists at Kennington, as under 8,000. "I will only add," said he, "that the honourable member for Nottingham, in my presence on Monday, stated the numbers present on Kennington Common at half a million." Colonel Sibthorp related an anecdote which afforded some amusement. "On Monday night," he said, "when the honourable and learned member for Nottingham, addressing me at the door of the House, said, 'I am glad all went off peacefully;' I said, 'I have only one regret that it did.' 'Why?' he asked. 'Because,' I replied, 'if you had only attempted to come over the bridge, you would have got the soundest thrashing you ever had in your life.'"—And now we take leave of Chartism, and its leader, Feargus O'Connor—soon to die insane—for ever. The government, however, took advantage of the excitement of the time to get the Alien Act passed, with additional clauses, arming them with power to summarily expel foreign refugees, of whom several thousands were in London before the end of the summer, including Louis Blanc, and many of the German republican leaders.



Thus it came to pass that, when the years of trouble had elapsed, peace was preserved; our queen was popular; our institutions remained untouched. The truth is, here we need not appeal to physical force. We have a free press, free parliament, and a free tongue.

All his life the Englishman has been accustomed to the use of political power.

On the continent it is different: the state is everything, the individual nothing. The people are kept weak and helpless; they are denied all healthy political excitement—all free development—all self-reliance. The hardihood and indomitable energy which have distinguished the masses in England, and by which she has been sustained in her darkest hours, are there altogether unknown. A people cannot be too much thrown upon their own resources: only by such means can their characters become manly and elevated. Under the continental system the people retrograde: they learn to rely upon government; to do little or nothing for themselves; and when, in their anger, they rise up and destroy a government, they are but little better for it, after all. Instead of acting out great principles, the citizen of Vienna, or Paris, or Berlin, will smoke and dance, and play dominoes, and sing, as if man had no higher destiny than to sport the butterfly of an hour; and as if life were but a May-day game. Give such their theatres, and concerts, and public gardens—their ball-rooms and promenades—their singing men and their singing women—and a government may rob them of their liberties, and trample them in the dust. Sunk in lethargy and voluptuous ease, the Parisian cares more for the airy movements of a ballet-girl, or for the melodious warblings of the favourite of the hour. Well may our unrivalled poet ask—

“What are monuments of bravery  
Where no public virtues bloom?  
What avail, in land of slavery,  
Trophied temples, arch, and tomb.”

END OF VOL. I.



LIFE AND TIMES

OF

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

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CHAPTER I.

PALMERSTON JUBILANT.

THE troubled years, the history of which we have just condensed, were, in many quarters, supposed to have been mainly caused by the intrigues of the English Foreign Minister, who, considered almost a Tory at home, was regarded as a revolutionary firebrand abroad.

Certainly his lordship loved to carry matters with a high hand.

For instance, there was that little affair in Greece. The government of King Otho, trusting in the protection of the Emperor Nicholas, had presumed to treat with the most contemptuous indifference the remonstrances of the British ambassador. His Hellenic majesty had never forgotten the advice which England gave him when he thought of freeing himself from his professional engagements. The plain representations which both Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston had made to him, rankled in his heart; and under the skilful diplomatic surgery of Russia, festered into a positive hatred of England, and everything English. The system of brigandage (the curse of the Turkish rule) continued even under the reign of King Otho. The most barbarous tortures were inflicted; the laws violated; the judges corrupted; and outrages of every kind committed, with the connivance, sanction, and encouragement of the Court of Athens. Though the Greek subjects of King Otho were treated with great cruelty, and though the condition of his little kingdom was most disgraceful, the Ionians and Maltese, and all who had any right to be considered subjects of the British crown, were peculiarly the marks for insult and oppression. They were whipped, and tortured with thumb-screws; they were robbed and pillaged: the unarmed boat's crew of a British ship of war was beaten by the Greek soldiers, and taken into custody. Mr. Finlay, a gentleman of Scottish origin, could get no payment for some land of which the king had taken possession to build a palace upon, and lay out a garden. M. Pacifico, a Portuguese Jew, had his house broken into, and his furniture destroyed by a mob, in open day, and within a short distance of the guard-house. For all these multiplied and manifold injuries redress was demanded: for none of them could any reparation, or even any apology, be obtained. Yet all these men were British subjects; and all of them, however humble in their condition, had, therefore, claims which a British minister was justified, nay, imperatively required, to urge. Emphatically, to support the just claims of his countrymen is the duty of a Foreign Minister. So does he best secure and maintain the honour of his flag.

On the 29th of December, 1849, the English minister at Athens informed the Greek government that it would act unwisely, if, counting on the forbearance of England, it neglected to satisfy the demands which had been made. The threat was no unmeaning one, as King Otho and his little Court soon learnt, to their



surprise and dismay. The English squadron appeared off the coast. Twenty-four hours were specified as the time in which, if no negotiations were entered into for the purpose of settling the claims, a formal demand would be made. No satisfactory answer was given. A formal demand was made by Mr. Wyse, and other twenty-four hours were allotted as the period of compliance. The Greek minister, strong in the support of France and Russia, refused to yield, and appealed to those two guaranteeing powers of the new kingdom. King Otho's government was informed that none of their vessels would be allowed to leave the Piræus. The steamer *Otho* ventured out, and was soon in the power of the English admiral. "Reprisals" were now made against the humble navy of Greece. There was, of course, no resisting the huge line-of-battle ships which now appeared upon the scene. King Otho and his ministers protested against such violence, and confessed their weakness. An embargo was next laid upon the mercantile marine—so stern and unyielding was now the English minister, and so bold his defiance of Russia. The French government having offered its good offices, they were accepted by Lord Palmerston, though he carefully guarded himself from surrendering, in any degree, the principle of his claims. Baron Gros went to Athens for the purpose of amicably arranging the business; but M. Pacifico's demands were a sad stumbling-block in the way of a satisfactory settlement.

On the 18th of April, 1850, a convention was signed in London, between Lord Palmerston and M. Drouyn de l'Huys, by which the differences were arranged upon much easier terms for the Greek government, than those demanded at Athens by Mr. Wyse. Baron le Gros, the French ambassador at the Greek capital, was duly advised of the terms of this convention; but Mr. Wyse was left in ignorance of them, and, of course, acted up to his previous instructions, which enjoined him, if the terms demanded were not complied with, to order the British squadron to appear before Athens, and enforce them. The Greek government, assenting to the terms of the London convention, refused to yield to those demanded by Mr. Wyse. The British squadron accordingly anchored off the Piræus; and coercive measures were only avoided by the submission of the Greeks. When information of these events reached Paris, the government was highly indignant at what appeared to be a violation of the agreement entered into with M. Drouyn de l'Huys. On the 16th of May, General Lahitte announced that the French ambassador was recalled from London, M. Mareschalchi being accredited as *charge d'affaires*; and, for a short time, a rupture with England appeared imminent. However, Lord Palmerston gave explanations as to the cause of the delay in forwarding the convention of April 18th to Mr. Wyse; and as instructions were immediately sent to that minister to carry out its stipulations, the diplomatic intercourse with England was resumed, and the relations between the two countries assumed their usual character.

In the opinion of the opposition, the time had now come for the downfall of Lord Palmerston.

In February, Count Nesselrode had favoured the British government with a despatch, really intended, by the Emperor Nicholas, to produce in the minds of Lord Palmerston's political opponents that indignation which they so keenly expressed. It was not so much Greece as Turkey that he was thinking of; and he therefore placed as the head and front of Lord Palmerston's offending, the entrance of our ships into the outer portion of the Dardanelles, and concluded with a threatening sentence about England abusing the advantages of her position; pursuing an isolated policy; and freeing herself from her engagements to the other cabinets. All these strong reproaches might justly be thrown back upon their author, and the great military governments of Europe. The three allied powers, and not England, had abused the advantages of their position, and had set themselves free from their engagements to her. It was not England that was to blame. It was because the holy alliance systematically propagated despotisms that England was compelled to support a more generous system. The



same people who now blamed Lord Palmerston, in 1822 blamed Mr. Canning, and for similar reasons.

The Conservatives might well be anxious to get rid of a Foreign Minister ready to aid the cause of constitutional government on the continent. The Emperor Nicholas was also of a similar opinion.

In the Lords the victory was easily won. All Palmerston's political adversaries combined against him; and the House of Lords passed resolutions by which his policy in general, and his conduct to Greece in particular, was emphatically censured. The only defender of Lord Palmerston was the Marquis of Lansdowne, who commenced his remarks by saying—"That in the House of Commons, where his noble friend had a seat, none of his opponents durst trust themselves with bringing forward such a motion." Earl Grey, who was usually forward enough to speak on the policy of the government, was silent on this occasion; and it was generally understood, from personal disapprobation of the policy of his colleague. On the other hand, the whole force of the opposition, Protectionites and Peelites, voted in favour of the censure; and the government, in consequence, was put in a minority. In curious coincidence, however, with what Lord Lansdowne had said, none of the protectionists ventured to follow up their victory by proposing a similar motion in the House of Commons; and it was left for an admirer of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy to introduce the question. He asked Lord John Russell, the leader of the House, what the government intended to do in consequence of the adverse vote of the Peers? Lord John Russell replied, "That they meant to do nothing. That the vote of the House of Lords would have no effect upon them, one way or another;" and then, bursting out into a tribute to his colleague, which was eloquent in its manly tone of admiration, he reminded the House of the position in which his honourable and noble friend stood; that he was not the minister of Austria or of Russia; but that he was the minister of England. When the hearty cheers that spontaneously greeted this declaration had subsided, Mr. Roebuck said—"That he was not quite satisfied with the constitutional ground of the doctrine which the noble lord had laid down; and that therefore he would give the House of Commons an opportunity of declaring whether they agreed with, or dissented from, the views of the Lords; for he would move a vote of approbation of the noble lord's policy." As M.P. for Sheffield, Mr. Roebuck was a man of mark: he was not a party follower. In many respects he was an Ishmaelite; and his hand, or rather his tongue, was against every one. The course which he took was, therefore, the more valuable; and, as regards Lord Palmerston, the more complimentary.

In many quarters it was thought a majority of thirty-seven against the government was fatal to its existence. "On referring to history," said Lord Russell, "it would be found that, 140 years ago, the House of Lords passed a resolution, which they embodied in an address, declaring that it would not consist with the honour and safety of the country to make any peace with France that would leave Spain and the Indies in possession of any branch of the House of Bourbon." The executive government, notwithstanding that address, proceeded to negotiate a treaty. In 1833, another instance occurred. When an address, moved by the Duke of Wellington, had been carried against the government, Earl Grey continued to act on the policy previously adopted; from which, in the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston had declared he would not swerve. Ministers, Lord John Russell intimated, were not disposed to give the reins of power out of their hands in consequence of the course adopted by the Lords.

Yet the attack, led on by Lord Stanley in the upper House, was of the most vehement description. He condemned, *in toto*, the conduct of Lord Palmerston. On a claim made, of £20 each, for two Ionians, the speaker commented with much severity. He said—"If the British flag is insulted, the Secretary of State does not think it necessary to ask for an apology. If a boat's crew is plundered, a sum of money is demanded. All we want is the money. Is a boat-hook lost? Put it



down in the bill. It is really difficult to speak seriously on such a question. It would be too absurd, too ridiculous, too foolish to make it the subject of recital in your lordships' House, were it not for the momentous fact, that it is upon such fooleries the peace of Europe is made to depend. The noble lord reminds me of a story where a man is thrown out of the window of an inn, and the assailant, when charged with the offence, exclaims, 'Put it down in the bill.' Whatever is done, put it down in the bill. Here is £20 for this, and £10 for that; and when we present our bill to King Otho at last, his treasury not being in an overflowing condition, we will show him what it is to insult Great Britain. Now, I ask your lordships, I put it to any rational man, whether this is a case upon which we are justified in going to war; in which we are warranted in employing a more powerful fleet than that which won the battle of the Nile, to threaten a friendly sovereign, and demand a certain compensation, just or unjust?" He criticised several demands; but the case on which his lordship dwelt most, was that of an individual, known as Don Pacifico, which he described to present such "an astounding combination of mendacity and audacity, of all that was ridiculous and disgusting," that he was ashamed to bring it before their lordships. The circumstances under which that person made his claim were these—"The Athenian mob take great delight, on Easter Sunday, in burning a representation of Judas Iscariot; but on Easter Sunday, 1847, in consequence of the presence in Athens of the Baron C. M. de Rothschild, the government, out of compliment to that gentleman, took measures to prevent the assemblage of the people. It is clear, then, his lordship inferred, that the loss M. Pacifico has sustained, is traceable to the presence of Baron de Rothschild in Athens. If the baron had not been in Athens, the figure of Judas would have been burnt; and, possibly, M. Pacifico's house would not have been plundered. An opinion, however, arose that M. Pacifico had obtained the discontinuation of this annual celebration, and a mob assembled, and most indelibly made an attack upon M. Pacifico's house, and destroyed what furniture there was in it; and, indeed, according to his statement, everything else. The rapidity with which the mob effected this destruction appears to have been wonderful; but, no doubt, they did great injury to the house, and caused considerable alarm to M. Pacifico and his family." His lordship continued—"As I do not wish to exaggerate or over-state anything, I will say, that, looking at those papers, it does not appear that there was any great activity manifested by the Greek police, either in putting a stop to the riot itself, or endeavouring to identify the rioters. It seems, indeed, that the police were deterred from taking such steps in consequence of persons who had high connections in the state being concerned in these outrages—a circumstance which entitles M. Pacifico to compensation. But when we come to the gentleman's bill of costs, it is really one which passes credibility. Mr. Wyse states that M. Pacifico's circumstances were insufficient to afford him the power to redeem some plate lodged with the Bank of Athens as security for £30 advanced to him for the purpose of lending out small weekly loans to poor people at exorbitant interest; and yet he claims more than £31,000 for his losses, nearly £5,000 of which is demanded for furniture destroyed. But, my lords, either M. Pacifico must be a man of extraordinary powers of memory, or else, amidst the universal destruction declared, the plunderers must have been obliging enough to leave behind them a precise inventory of every item of furniture, and the value of each. No upholsterer's catalogue can be more complete, enumerating, in the minutest detail, every article in the house, from the sofas and chairs in the drawing-room, to the stew-pans, the jelly-moulds, the skimming-ladles in the kitchen. Every article, too, in its proper place; in such a box, so many coats, and other articles of M. Pacifico; in such a cupboard, so many gowns of Mrs. Pacifico; so many silk stockings of Miss Pacifico; with all the minutiae of male and female apparel. Why, the house of this petty usurer is furnished—is represented to have been furnished—as if he had been another Aladdin, with full command of the genii of the ring and the lamp. For



one couch, the enormous sum of £170 is charged; and, for a *lit conjugal*, £150." In conclusion, expressing great regard for the noble lord at the head of the foreign department, he felt bound to speak of him on this occasion as a minister, not as a man; and thus feeling, he continued—"I must, in this case, express my deep regret at the conduct which, as a minister, he has felt it his duty to pursue; and call upon your lordships to recollect that this is no case in which personal feeling ought to be indulged. I must call upon you to remember that you are here in the discharge of a great public duty; that you are here acting in a judicial capacity; that you are here acting, possibly, as the means of reconciling differences between contending nations: at all events, that your judgment to-day may go forth to the world, and vindicate you from the stigma and opprobrium which, as I think, must attach to that great and mighty power which prostitutes its undoubted superiority by enforcing unjust or exorbitant demands upon a feeble and defenceless ally. My lords, I beg to move your lordships to resolve, that while the House fully recognises the right and duty of the government to secure to her majesty's subjects residing in foreign states the full protection of the laws of those states, it regrets to find, by the correspondence recently laid upon the table by her majesty's command, that various claims against the Greek government, doubtful in point of justice, or exaggerated in amount, have been enforced by coercive measures, directed against the commerce and peace of Greece, and calculated to endanger the continuance of our friendly relations with other powers."

Mr. Roebuck, after such a powerful censure had been endorsed by the Lords, might well think that an appeal should be made to the Commons; and that if that appeal were not successful, then the path which ministers ought to take would be clear. With this feeling he gave notice to the House that he would move, "That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her majesty's government are such as were required to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of the country, and, in times of unexampled difficulty, the best calculated to maintain peace between England and the various nations of the world."

The whole nation was excited at finding ministers thus put upon their trial. The debate lasted four nights, and excited unexampled interest. It commenced on the 24th of June.

Mr. Roebuck, after alluding to the condemnation of the administration by the House of Lords on their foreign policy, said—"It became the duty of the House of Commons to declare their opinion in similar unmistakable language. He believed that, as regards individual wrongs and rights, with reference to foreign nations, the object of the noble lord had been to extend the protection and the shield of England to her wandering sons, who were carried by commerce or otherwise to the various regions of the world. With regard to the interests of this country," he proceeded, "I believe his policy has been to maintain the peace of the world—not by truckling to despotism, but by teaching all foreign communities with whom we have any relations, that in so far as she is permitted to do so by the rules regulating internal communication, she will maintain peace by warning foreign governments to make ready and proper concessions to the increasing enlightenment of the people. In 1789, broke out that grand result of the increasing enlightenment of Europe—the first French revolution. The whole result depended upon England. What were called the legitimate governments of Europe banded together; and, unfortunately, England supported them. The consequence was a contest the most terrible that the annals of mankind record. In that fearful lesson we read a rule for our guidance in future. The Duke of Wellington was at the head of the English councils when that mighty conflict of the people of France resulted in again dispossessing the Bourbon family of the throne. The Duke of Wellington commenced a new foreign policy on the occasion, and at once acknowledged the government which the new revolution in France had established." After praising Lord Palmerston's policy with regard to Belgium, Mr. Roebuck continued—"On a sudden this House is surprised by a resolution



of the other House, embracing an alliance with France, Russia, and the protectionist party in this country, formed to overwhelm the noble lord. To find in Greece a monarch coming from Bavaria—a man educated at a small German Court, and with all the feelings that such an education must create—and acting, in everything, under the instruction of Austria and Russia, I must confess that, with such a council and such diplomacy, I feel somewhat degraded when I hear the name of England being mixed up in any of these discussions. We have seen evinced at Athens a constant sympathy with Russian diplomacy, which still looks forward to the possession of Constantinople as her portion of the spoil of the world, contemplated by Napoleon. Austria is Russia's implement and slave; and woe and shame to France for suddenly forgetting the great guiding principles of her conduct; and, truckling with the Russian despot, she has joined in this attempt to insult the greatness of England. Well, at this time what has occurred? The people of England are suddenly informed, through their Foreign Minister, that the fleet of Admiral Parker has been ordered to the Piræus. At once Englishmen erect their ears. They do not like the idea of it; and that power which is always ready to oppose anything like liberal government, which can give a majority against freedom, suddenly interferes. They do not like prodigally to use their power. I have heard many threats, and often, of the ministry being left in a minority in the House of Lords; but there was one very curious thing which I learned just before these occurrences took place; and I would ask this House seriously to bear it in mind. The people of Hungary had risen against the despotism of Austria, but had succumbed to the united power of Austria and Russia. The patriots escaped, and were afforded shelter by Turkey. With bloodhound pertinacity they were instantly demanded by the two despots. The noble lord worthily represented England on that occasion, and said, 'It shall not be.' Our fleet told those two despotic powers that such a violation of the rights of nations should not take place. England stopped those wretches. It was shortly after that circumstance that Count Nesselrode, writing to M. Brunow, said—'It is painful that this should have occurred just as Admiral Parker has been to the Dardanelles on his very disagreeable mission.' Now the charge brought against the noble lord is, that his demands are unreasonable; the amount claimed insignificant or exaggerated; and the time for making the demand inopportune or improper. There is first to be considered the question as regards the demands made on the Grecian nation. The next question is, how the French people have acted in the business? I will begin with France. We are told that this sort of proceeding was altogether unknown until originated by the noble lord, the Foreign Secretary, in the case of Greece. The cases in which the noble lord interfered were five or six. Now, I believe it is well known that, in 1831, a French fleet appeared in the Tagus to insist on reparation for injuries done to French subjects during the reign of Don Miguel. The mediation of England was offered, and refused by France. They demanded that a Frenchman, subjected to a severe imprisonment for a serious offence, should be liberated, and the sentence pronounced against him annulled by a special act, and that the judge should be dismissed. That was in times when we heard of 'our dear Aberdeen.' They further demanded that several French subjects should be indemnified; that a rule against arrest without a judicial decree should be observed; that the chief of the police should be dismissed; and that all sentences on French subjects for political offences should be abrogated. It is urged, in France, that this affair of Greece was a petty affair. I think I can find one as petty. In 1842, the French government felt that injuries had been done to some French subjects at the small and insignificant port of San Salvador, amounting, in the whole, to one thousand dollars. A French ship went in immediately, and the captain said—'If you do not pay I will at once bombard the town.' The people refused: the French consul retired, got on board the French ship, and immediately raised the demand to two thousand dollars, and the poor people were obliged to pay the money."



Mr. Roebuck quoted various cases to show that, in the judgment of other enlightened nations, a course similar to that which had been used by the British government on the present occasion, was justifiable. He spoke disparagingly of the conduct of France on this occasion, and treated lightly the idea of war being likely to arise from it. Finally, he expressed anxiety that there would be no cavil on the question at issue—no half approval. There must be so broad, so clear, so strong, and so positive an approval, that there could be no doubt ministers had maintained, and would continue to maintain, the dignity of the country in the face of the world.

On the second night of the debate Lord Palmerston spoke in his own defence. The interest created by the debate was intense, and the House was crowded in every part. Referring to the resolution passed by the Lords, he said it involved the future as well as the past. The country was pledged by the resolution; and, so far as foreign nations were concerned, the future rule of government was to be, that in all cases, and under all circumstances, British subjects were to have that protection only which the law and the tribunals of the land in which they might happen to be would give them. That proposition he denied, and he declared it was a doctrine upon which no British minister had ever yet acted, and on which the people of England would never suffer a British minister to act. His lordship continued—"If our subjects abroad have complaints against individuals, or against the government of a foreign country, if the courts of law can afford them redress, then, no doubt, to those courts of justice the British subjects ought, in the first instance, to apply; and it is only on a denial of justice, or upon decisions manifestly unjust, that the British government should be called upon to interfere. But there may be cases in which no confidence can be placed in the tribunals. I will take a transaction that occurred not long ago as an instance. An inn-keeper of Catania was brought before a court-martial, accused of having concealed arms in his possession, contrary to a recent decree, declaring that a person found guilty should be shot. Some police officers declared that they found, in an open bin in an open stable in his yard, a knife, which they denounced as a concealed weapon. Witnesses having been examined, the counsel for the prosecution stated, that he gave up the case, as it was evident that there was no proof that the knife belonged to the man, or that he was aware that it was in the place where it was found. The counsel for the defendant said, that such being the opinion of the prosecution, it was unnecessary for him to go into the defence, and he left his client in the hands of the court. The court, nevertheless, pronounced the man guilty, and the next morning he was shot. Now what would the English people have said if this had been done to a British subject? Yet everything was the result of a law, and the man was found guilty of an offence by the tribunal of his country. Owing to the absence of constitutional institutions, the whole system of the government of Greece is full of every kind of abuse. Justice could not be expected where the judges of the tribunal were at the mercy of the advisers of the crown. And with regard to the police, I have here depositions of persons who have been subjected to the most abominable tortures which human ingenuity could devise—tortures inflicted on both sexes, most revolting and disgusting; and that the parties guilty of such practices, instead of being punished, are held in great favour in quarters where they ought to have received nothing but marks of indignation. Well, this being the state of things in Greece, we have to do our best to afford protection to the Maltese, Ionians, and a certain number of British subjects, whom we have bound ourselves to aid. The Greek police, however, made no distinction between their treatment of the Maltese and the Ionians, and that of their own subjects, whom they were permitted to torture as I have described; and I saw the necessity of putting a stop to the extension of those abuses to British subjects by demanding compensation, scarcely more than nominal in some cases; the granting of which would be an acknowledgment that such things should not be done towards us in future."



With regard to the case of Pacifico, against whose character many accusations had been brought, his lordship continued:—

“If the man were guilty, punish him if you will; but do not pursue him as a pariah through life. His case was this. In the middle of the town of Athens, in a house which, I must be allowed to say, is not a wretched hovel, but which, in the early days of King Otho, was, I am told, the residence of Count Armandsparg, the chief of the regency—a house as good as the generality of those which existed in Athens before the sovereign ascended the throne—M. Pacifico, living in this house, within forty yards of the great street, within a few minutes’ walk of a guard-house where soldiers were stationed, was attacked by a mob. Fearing injury when the mob began to assemble, he sent an intimation to the British minister, who immediately informed the authorities. Application was made to the Greek government for protection. No protection was afforded. The mob, in which were soldiers and *gens d’armes*, who, even if officers were not with them, ought, from a sense of duty, to have interfered, and to have prevented plunder—that mob, headed by the sons of the minister of war—not children eight or ten years old, but older—that mob, for nearly two hours, employed themselves in gutting the house of an unoffending man, carrying away or destroying every single thing the house contained, and left it a perfect wreck. Is not that a case in which a man is entitled to redress from somebody? I venture to think it is. I think that there is no civilised country where a man, subjected to such grievous wrong—not to speak of insults and injuries to the members of his family—would not justly expect redress from some quarter or other. Where was he to apply for redress at Athens? The Greek government neglected its duty, and did not pursue judicial inquiries, or institute legal prosecutions, as it might have done, for the purpose of finding out, and punishing some of the culprits. The sons of the minister of war were pointed out to the government as actors in the outrage. The Greek government were told to search a particular house, and that some part of M. Pacifico’s jewels would be found there. They declined to prosecute the minister’s sons, or to search the house. But, it is said, M. Pacifico should have applied to a court of law for redress. What was he to do? Was he to prosecute a mob of 500 persons? Was he to prosecute them criminally, or in order to make them pay the value of his losses? Where was he to find his witnesses? Why, he and his family were hiding or flying during the pillage, to avoid the personal outrages with which they were threatened. He states that his own life was saved by the help of an English friend. It was impossible, if he could have identified the leaders, to have prosecuted them with success. But what satisfaction would it have been to M. Pacifico to have succeeded in a criminal prosecution against the ringleaders of that assault? Would that have restored to him his property? He wanted redress, not revenge. A criminal prosecution was out of the question, to say nothing of the chances, if not the certainty, of failure in a country where the tribunals are at the mercy of the advisers of the crown; the judges being liable to be removed, and being often actually removed, upon grounds of private interest and personal feeling. Was he to prosecute for damages? His action would have been laid against individuals, and not, as in this country, against the hundred. Suppose that he had been enabled to prove that one particular man had carried off one particular thing, or destroyed one particular article of furniture, what redress could he anticipate from a law-suit which, as his legal advisers told him, it would be vain for him to undertake? M. Pacifico truly said—‘If the man I prosecute is rich, he is sure to be acquitted; if he is poor, he has nothing out of which to afford me compensation if he is condemned.’ The Greek government having neglected to give the protection they were bound to extend, and having abstained from taking the means to afford redress, there was a case in which we were justified in calling on the Greek government for compensation for the losses, whatever they might be, which M. Pacifico had suffered. I think that claim was founded in justice. The amount we did not pretend to fix. If the



Greek government had admitted the principle of the claim, and had objected to the account sent in by M. Pacifico—if they had said, ‘This is too much, and we think a less sum sufficient,’ that would have been a question open to discussion, and which our ministers, Sir E. Lyons at first, or Mr. Wyse afterwards, would have been ready to have gone into, and, no doubt, some satisfactory arrangement might then have been effected with the Greek government. But the Greek government denied altogether the principle of the claim. Therefore, when Mr. Wyse came to make the claim, he could not but demand that the claim should be settled, or placed in a way of settlement, and that within a definite period, as he fixed it, of twenty-four hours. Whether M. Pacifico’s statement of his claim was exaggerated or not, the demand was not for any particular amount of money. The demand was, that the claim should be settled. An investigation might have been instituted, which those who acted for us were prepared to enter into, fairly, dispassionately, and justly.” His lordship further stated, “that M. Pacifico had only met with a positive refusal of his claim, or with pertinacious silence; and at length it came to this, that the demand must be abandoned altogether or enforced. Oh, it was said, what an iniquitous proceeding to employ so large a force against so small a power. But did the smallness of a country justify the magnitude of its evil doings? Was it to be held, that if your subjects suffered violence, outrage, plunder, in a country which was small and weak, that compensation must not be claimed? The sufferers would answer, that the weakness of the offending power made it so much more easy to obtain redress. No, it was said, generosity was to be the rule; we were to be generous to those who have behaved ungenerously to our countrymen; and we were to say to the sufferers—‘We cannot give you redress, because we have such ample means of enforcing it.’” His lordship then fully explained the course which had been pursued; the policy he had uniformly acted upon; and the differences with France, which had, however, been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. He vindicated the government on all the points which had been assailed; and especially the sending of a squadron, under Sir William Parker, to the Dardanelles, that the Turkish government might not be coerced, and forced to give up the Hungarians, who had sought a refuge in the dominions of the Porte. That, he insisted, held out no threat to any power: it could only be a symbol, and a source of support to the sultan.

The eloquent conclusion of the noble viscount’s five hours’ speech was as follows:—

“The government of a great country like this is undoubtedly an object for fair and legitimate ambition among men of all shades of opinion. It is a noble thing to be allowed to guide the policy and the destinies of such a country; and if ever it were an object of honourable ambition, it must be more than ever so at the moment at which I am speaking. Whilst we have seen, as has been stated, Europe rocking from side to side, thrones shattered, institutions overthrown and destroyed—when almost every country of Europe has been a scene of conflict, which has deluged the land with blood, from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean—this country has presented a spectacle honourable to the people of England, and worthy of the admiration of the world. We have shown that liberty is compatible with order; we have shown that individual freedom is reconcilable with obedience to law; we have shown the example of a nation in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned it; whilst, at the same time, every individual is constantly striving to raise himself in the social scale, not by violence and illegality, but by persevering good conduct, and unremitting application of those moral and intellectual faculties with which his Creator has endowed him. I say, to govern such a people as this, is indeed an object worthy of the ambition of the noblest man who lives in the land; and therefore I find no fault with those who may have endeavoured to place themselves in so distinguished a position.



We have not done anything in our foreign policy to forfeit the confidence of the country. I contend that, whether in this matter or in that we may have acted up to the opinions of one person or another—and we know by experience that we do not find any number of persons entirely agreeing on any matter—making allowances for those differences of opinion which might fairly be expected amongst those which generally concur, yet I maintain that the principles which can be traced throughout foreign nations as the rule and directing course of our proceedings—I say that those principles are such as deserve the approbation of the country. I fearlessly challenge the verdict which the House may give on the question now before it—whether the principles which have governed the foreign policy of the government, whose duty it was to afford protection to our subjects abroad, which we have considered the guide of our conduct, are proper and fitting; and whether, as in the days of the Roman, who held himself to be free from indignity when he called out ‘*Civis Romanus Sum*,’ an Englishman shall be considered protected by the vigilant eye and strong arm of his government, against injustice and wrong?”

The debate was brought to a close on the 28th of June. On that night Sir R. Peel delivered a most able and argumentative speech: it was the last time his voice was heard in that House. Differing from Lord Palmerston, he frankly confessed, “We are all proud of him.” In this his last speech, Sir Robert, as usual, uttered language well worthy of remembrance. We transcribe a few of its sentences. “The honourable and learned gentleman, Mr. Roebuck, says there shall be no mistake as to the purport and import of my vote; that it is not a resolution simply of approval of the policy of the noble lord, but a resolution the meaning and intention of which is this—we are to tell the people of all foreign countries with whom we have any relations, that our power, so far as it is physically concerned, is not to be employed to coerce their rulers; but, in so far as the moral influence of this country and this government is concerned, the world shall know we are friendly wheresoever we find a large endeavour on the part of any body of men to vindicate to themselves the right of self-government. \* \* \* \* I am asked what is the antagonistic principle? I have been challenged again and again to declare it. I will declare it. The principle for which I contend is the principle for which every statesman has contended for the last fifty years—namely, non-interference with the domestic affairs of other countries, without some clear and undeniable necessity arising from circumstances affecting the interests of your own country. That is the antagonistic principle for which I contend. I affirm, that the principle for which you contend is the principle contended against by Mr. Fox, when it was employed in favour of arbitrary government, which was resisted by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning at the congress of Verona; the principle which was asserted by the Convention of France on the 19th of November, 1792, and was abandoned by that same Convention on the 13th of April, 1793, because France found it utterly impossible to adhere to it consistently with the maintenance of peace. \* \* \* \* It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken; you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate; you will invite opposition to government: and beware that the time does not arrive when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their minds the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. If you succeed, I doubt whether the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be best worked out by those who aspire to freedom by their own efforts; you will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference.”

Many were the brilliant speeches delivered during the course of the debate; and the triumph for the ministry, in spite of the combination of Peelites, protectionists, and the Manchester party, was of the most emphatic character. Mr.



Roebuck's motion was carried by a majority of forty-six; the numbers being—ayes, 310; noes, 264. There can be no doubt that the main contributor to this triumph was the noble lord himself. His speech exhausted the question. During the whole time, the attention of a crowded House was maintained unflaggingly: the historical details of his policy, which, in other hands, would have been a dry narrative of facts, served with him as the vehicle, at times, of lofty sentiment, of genuine patriotism, of brilliant repartee, and of broad and irresistible humour. It was universally admitted to be one of the greatest triumphs of parliamentary eloquence that age had listened to. An M.P. walking home that night, said to another M.P., "I have heard Canning, and Plunkett, and Brougham in their best days, and I never heard anything to beat that speech." Undoubtedly his lordship surpassed himself, and exceeded all expectation. Out-of-doors the enthusiasm in favour of Lord Palmerston was as great as within the walls of St. Stephen's; and with a peculiar and delicate courtesy, within four days of the address which he delivered, a portrait of himself, painted by an eminent artist, at a cost of 400 guineas, was presented to Lady Palmerston by a deputation, consisting of members of the House of Commons, who represented many more of his legislative admirers.

On the Greek question public opinion is yet divided. The weakness of Greece has pleaded strongly in her favour with some politicians, who thought, and justly thought, that the necessity for undertaking offensive measures against such a humble state ought to have been obvious to all mankind; that every effort should have been made to effect a pacific settlement; and that full warning should have been given, not to Greece alone, but to France and Russia, as protecting powers, before the strong arm of England had been raised, even in a just cause, against such a puny member of the commonwealth of nations. There was no glory to be gained in coercing Greece.

Unquestionably, British subjects, when residing in foreign lands, are entitled to protection; and if that protection cannot be afforded them by the legal tribunals of the country, they have a right to look for it at the hands of their own government. But before their claims are endorsed by the Foreign Secretary, he ought to be sure that they are not exaggerated, and that they are, in every respect, honest. If an Englishman makes a fool of himself abroad, he must take the consequences of his folly. It is not enough that the offending power should disprove the accusations of an alien: it is the duty of the injured person to prove, to the satisfaction of his government, before calling upon it for assistance, that his demands are strictly just. If this reasoning be sound, it is impossible to approve, in every respect, of the manner in which M. Pacifico's claims were adopted and enforced. In this demonstration against Greece, there were certainly, especially as regards French mediation, many errors committed; but it is not clear that Lord Palmerston was to blame. Accidents will occur in the best regulated families; the best schemes are liable to miscarriage; the best diplomatic agents sometimes err; and Lord Palmerston never was the man to extricate himself from a false position by accusing his subordinates.

The doctrine of Roman citizenship is more plausible than sound. Undoubtedly, at the time, it made Lord Palmerston intensely popular. John Bull, even now—when an adventurer, and the son of an adventurer, with an audacity almost sublime, has climbed up the steep ascent of empire, and with his armed legions bids all Europe tremble—flatters himself that England sustains the same relation to the modern, that Rome sustained to the ancient world. Under the broad sun of heaven he sees no more exalted personage than himself: he insists upon his rights in the remotest corners of the globe. In the presence of the pope, whom he considers as little better than one of the wicked; under the shadow of the gigantic despot, who holds France in his mailed hand; before Austrian kaiser, Russian czar, Yankee backwoodsman, or astonished citizen of Timbuctoo, he exclaims, "*Civis Romanus Sum!*" In his own opinion, it is his proud prerogative,



wherever he wanders, to break all laws; to violate all customs; to pour contempt on all prejudices; and to run all risks. Now Lord Palmerston was supposed to aid and abet all this; and in 1850 this idea culminated in a triumph, which must have satisfied even his ambition. Englishmen were astonished and enraptured. All swore by Lord Palmerston. Even the professors of the refined science of gastronomy—the disciples of Ude—Carême Soyer—caught the enthusiasm, and a Palmerston sauce became *en vogue*. In the four quarters of the globe his name was a terror, and a tower of strength. Vienna illuminated when Lord Palmerston left office. In the troubled years of 1848–9, a German popular couplet intimated, that if the devil had a son, that fortunate individual was England's Foreign Secretary. "*Suda Palmerston Seechas*" (hither Palmerston forthwith), was, we were told, during the Crimean war, the cry with which the Cossack of the Ukraine stilled his steed when restive, or urged it on when weary. Nay, more; at dinners at Damascus, Mr. Disraeli makes an Eastern emir exclaim—"I cannot endure this eternal chatter about Palmerston: is there no other statesman in the world besides Palmerston?" Actually when the Harper Ferry affair broke out on the other side of the Atlantic, we read in an American paper, that the act of Brown and his followers was owing to Palmerston alone. The public were pleased. The conclusion naturally was—if the Foreign Secretary was thus great and potent, how great and potent must be the country of which he was the minister.

The ablest opponent of Lord Palmerston was Mr. Gladstone, who repudiated, in the debate, the *Civis Romanus Sum* doctrine, which, after all, was never advanced by Lord Palmerston in the mischievous sense his opponents affirmed. In another matter Mr. Gladstone did his lordship injustice; and that was in the distinction he drew between the intervention of Mr. Canning and his lordship. Mr. Gladstone affirmed, that the earlier statesman had been successful in his interference in Portugal and South America; while the Foreign Secretary of the Whigs had been, in almost every instance, unsuccessful and inexcusable in his meddling with the affairs of other countries. Mr. Gladstone even selected for panegyric, Mr. Canning's extraordinary sentence about calling the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old; and considered such intervention as a perfect model of wisdom and success. But, in fact, Mr. Canning's South American republics were decided failures; and the British troops had scarcely been withdrawn from Portugal, when the constitution which he virtually, though not directly, attempted to save was subverted. It seems, then, almost impossible to believe that, if Mr. Canning's intervention in Portugal and South America was quite right, Lord Palmerston's intervention in Portugal and Belgium was quite wrong. The latter was blamed for perilling our relations with the great monarchical powers by his constitutional propagandism. Mr. Gladstone argued, with much force and eloquence, that if England set about diffusing her political opinions and institutions, other states would take the same course; that the name of each government would be the symbol of a party, and a system would ensue destructive to the peace and happiness of the world. Well, actually this was the case. What was the holy alliance but a scheme of propagandism of the most universal character? Lord Palmerston only did what others had done before him. His offence was, that he had, wherever practicable, lent the aid and the arm of England to constitutional, in preference to despotic governments. If his lordship was a sinner in this respect, it was a sin which surely an Englishman should be ready to forgive. In the upper House, where Liberal principles are always viewed with dislike, we cannot wonder that his lordship's policy had been emphatically condemned: but we should have been surprised if that verdict had been ratified by the Commons and the public at large.

Perhaps the best vindication of the Palmerston policy may be found in the following fact:—After the great issue had been decided, and the session of 1850 closed, Mr. Gladstone went in the autumn to Italy, and found himself at last in Naples. He was travelling with no political object. Private reasons alone had



taken him to the continent. He was a highly distinguished member of a party which was considered opposed to all revolutionary disturbances, and strongly prepossessed in favour of established governments. He had censured Lord Palmerston for his measures in Italy; and had expressed himself powerfully against the contemplated separation of Sicily from Naples. He might be regarded as a friend of King Ferdinand, and disposed to view, with a favourable eye, the exertions which this sovereign and his ministers had made to preserve the rights of the Neapolitan monarchy. But Mr. Gladstone beheld scenes that struck him with horror; he saw in action such a brutal tyranny, without aim or purpose, except for simply increasing human misery, that, shocked by ail he had witnessed, Conservative and Englishman as he was, he felt it to be his sacred duty to attempt to stop the further committal of such crimes. He visited the persecuted patriots in their dungeons. With his own hands he grasped their chains, and endeavoured to administer consolation to those whose heads were bowed down in despair. On his return to England he communicated the results of his humane investigation to Lord Aberdeen, in the hope that that nobleman's great influence might induce the King of Naples to unlock the fetters he had fastened on his victims. Months, however, passed away, and no relaxation of this miserable persecution was experienced. Mr. Gladstone then reluctantly sent his letters to the press, and solemnly impeached, before the great bar of public opinion, the official miscreants who, violating every divine and human law, revelled in the wretchedness they inflicted on their fellow-creatures. These letters created a great sensation throughout Europe and the civilised world. The Neapolitan ministers found themselves arraigned as criminals. They were obliged at last to reply to these grave accusations; and there were Englishmen not ashamed to countenance their feeble rejoinder, and make a show of holding the balance even between the accuser and the accused, as though Mr. Gladstone's simple testimony was not of more weight than the rambling assertions of any kind apologist for such atrocities. The letters of Mr. Gladstone not merely vindicated his own character, but they were a noble testimony to the excellence of the policy pursued by our British minister. In no person did Mr. Gladstone's denunciation of Neapolitan tyranny find more hearty sympathy than in Lord Palmerston; nor did he, in his high official position, merely praise the letters in the House of Commons, and excite the cheers of his countrymen. He sent copies of the work to the different embassies abroad; and charged the ambassadors to bring them to the knowledge of the governments to which they were accredited, that the world might see what a hideous tyranny was that of King Ferdinand. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets produced political consequences. His appeal to the common sentiments of mankind against a barbarous system of injustice and oppression had united politicians who admired Lord Palmerston and the friends of Lord Aberdeen. It began to be asked whether the principles of these statesmen were quite irreconcilable; or whether they could not unite in one powerful government for the honour and welfare of England?

And thus, for the present, Lord Palmerston has become the most popular man in all England. Of his John Bullism the nation was proud. "It is a grand country this," exclaims the enthusiastic but grumbling Briton, while he abuses its laws, its character, and its institutions; and nothing pleased people better than to hear his lordship repeating this cry for the edification of foreign Courts. England, with her press and parliament, was the model which he held up to the admiration of France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Japan; to say nothing of countless smaller principalities and powers. No matter the differences of religion, climate, custom, race, his lordship had a panacea applicable to all. That he did not precipitate the nation into war, argued not so much his discretion as his luck: but the people who did not see the danger, admired the pluck; and pluck rules the world. Witness Louis Napoleon, Count Bismarck, and Professor Holloway. Thus the national enthusiasm placed Palmerston on the very topmost pinnacle: he was the mainstay of the cabinet. As long as he was Foreign



Minister they were safe in their seats. Abroad, the cry was, "Palmerston and constitutional government!" At home, "Palmerston and the vindication of the national honour!" Surely, if any man had reason to be satisfied with his lot, and to be certain of his continuance in office, it was England's Foreign Secretary at the end of 1850.

It had been the reproach of Englishmen that they took little or no interest in foreign affairs. That reproach had been uttered even by Lord Palmerston himself. When a deputation from the inhabitants of Finsbury waited on him with an address of thanks for his zealous services in the cause of humanity, in having aided to procure the liberation of Kossuth—in acknowledging the compliment, his lordship remarked, that the people of England generally viewed the subject of continental liberty with indifference; and he invited them to back him in his future efforts on its behalf. His lordship knew that, to be forcible and successful, he must have public opinion on his side. He felt, with that in his favour, he could do much for liberty; that without it, his fiercest reproach, or most indignant denunciation, would be a voice, and nothing more.

And thus feared abroad, and admired at home, no one ever dreams of the fall from place and power of England's Foreign Secretary.

Just now all England is enthusiastic on foreign affairs. Kossuth had recently landed on our shores. His reception by the corporation and people of Southampton was such as had never been accorded to a Foreign Secretary before. The ancient city of Winchester was not backward in its welcome to the illustrious stranger; and London even was moved as but rarely is the case. The court of aldermen and common council adopted an address, which Kossuth was invited to receive in the Guildhall. His progress thither, on the day appointed, from his temporary residence in Pimlico, was a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm. From Piccadilly to Cheapside business was suspended for several hours; the people of nearly all ranks blocking up the thoroughfares in their eagerness to behold and honour the man who had but narrowly escaped the death of a rebel. Twice the hero of the hour was compelled to stop, and address a few words to his enthusiastic admirers. In Manchester and Birmingham, the only towns which the state of his health enabled him to visit, his reception was equally gratifying and enthusiastic. The Manchester Free-Trade Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity to hear him; and 90,000 applications for tickets were made in vain. At Birmingham it was estimated that half a million of persons assembled to greet him on his arrival in that town. At the banquet which followed, he delivered one of his most remarkable speeches in this country.

Our reproach had been wiped away. All England was interested in foreign affairs.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE CAPE AND FOREIGN ADVENTURE.

IN 1851, the following letter appeared in the *Times*, from the pen of Sir William Napier to Mr. Samuel Gurney, chairman of the Peace and Aborigines Society:—

"Respectable Friend,—The *Times* has made thee assert, at a meeting of the above society, as follows:—

"That, since 1837, there has been at the Cape a constant reference to the sword.

"That it was a bad principle to have all governors sent to the Cape military men. That where military men were employed, they would only have recourse



to the sword. That men of commerce, men of Christian principles, should be employed instead of military men. That Lord Glenelg's policy was a Christian one, and the only sure and just one.'

"Now Friend, Justice, which is the favourite child of Christianity, should have deterred thee from this vilification of all the Cape governors. There was one of them, at least, who acted according to thy own views of what is deemed fitting to be done. Sir George Napier succeeded a governor who had just terminated a war, and was succeeded by a governor who instantly commenced a war; but his government of nearly seven years was one of peace with the Kaffirs, and it began in that very year of 1837, which thou hast fixed as the epoch for a constant reference to the sword. Moreover, it was a government conducted on Lord Glenelg's Christian policy, which, be it said, did not fail in Sir G. Napier's hands, though Lord John Russell has thought fit to assume the contrary in the House of Commons. How is it that these things were unknown to thee, Friend?

"Sir G. Napier had no recourse to the sword, because he deeply felt the awful responsibility of an appeal to arms without absolute necessity; and because he judged that one month of hostilities would be more costly and more hurtful to the colonists than ten years of Kaffir depredations. Yet he did not supinely neglect those depredations; he always sought, and generally obtained redress, but peaceably; and often he found the savage more reasonable and just than the civilised man. And whilst he thus staved off war, he was active in peaceable legislation.

"He enforced the abolition of slavery without commotion.

"He reduced the paper-money debt from £200,000 to less than £100,000; and, coincidently, he abolished all taxes relying for revenues on import duties only.

"He gave municipal government to all the towns and villages; and he earnestly urged the home government to give a representative to the colony.

"He found the public schools languishing, with only a few hundred scholars: he revived them, nourished them, reformed them; and left them flourishing, with upwards of 12,000 attending pupils.

"Here, then, Friend Gurney, we have, instead of a constant recourse to the sword, peace, education, reduction of debt and taxes, self-government by municipalities, and an effort to obtain general representation: and if thou wouldst know what he was thought of personally, I answer, that the coloured people looked on him as their friend and protector; that the Kaffirs respected his authority; that men of all political opinions gave him a farewell dinner; and his most active opponent there bore testimony to the integrity, the purity of his government, its freedom from all jobs and favouritism; and when he embarked, the humbler classes attended him in crowds to the shore, and even in boats to the ship, with all demonstrations of attachment.

"In behalf of an absent brother, then, I say that these things, Friend Gurney, thou shouldst have known before thy sweeping assertion—that, from 1836, constant recourse was had to the sword, and that all military governors would appeal to this weapon.

"And now, Friend, one word as to thy comparison of military and commercial persons.

"What manner of men be they who have supplied the Kaffirs with the fire-arms and ammunition to maintain their savage and deplorable wars?

"Assuredly they were not military."

The Kaffir war here referred to has never been fairly put before the British public. As much injustice has been done to the colonists, we will here briefly tell its story.

In 1817, the Kaffirs and a few Dutch and English colonists held conjoint possession of Eastern Africa, nearly as far west as Algoa Bay. The European residents were, however, regarded as the nominal lords of the soil to the Great Fish River, and had about thirty military posts established in that country, which is now known as the districts of Albany and Uitenhage. Along this district



frequent Kaffir inroads took place, the Kaffirs being always the aggressors: the farmers, in their turn, uniting to visit the haunt of the Kaffir robber, and compel him, by force of arms, to disgorge his plunder.

In 1819, the Kaffirs became so bold as to venture upon war against the colony; in which, after an attempt to carry Graham's Town (then the headquarters of the military), they were discomfited, and compelled to retire to the east side of the Great Fish River, along the right bank of which a strong chain of forts was, at the time, maintained.

The same year the British parliament voted £50,000, and sent out 4,000 emigrants, to occupy the country from which the Kaffirs had just been expelled. These emigrants formed the Albany and Uitenhage original settlers; and being men of stern mould and indefatigable temperament, soon began to plant the seeds of a flourishing settlement. At this time, Graham's Town contained twenty-two houses, and 150 inhabitants. Fourteen years of peace and prosperity ensued; when, in 1834, the second Kaffir war burst like a thunder-cloud over the peaceful and prosperous community. The assegai and the torch did their deadly work most effectually. The British territory was completely overrun and despoiled; numbers of lives lost; and £300,000 worth of the settlers' property wasted or driven off. This war had been originated by the Kaffirs; and the result was, their expulsion to the eastward of the Keiskamma river. This result was only what they must have expected. Two powers go to war; one is beaten; the conqueror dictates his terms, which, in this case, were the forfeiture of a considerable and valuable tract of country.

A new governor, Sir Andreas Stockenstrom, now appeared upon the scene; and a new policy, one of concession, was adopted. That portion of the country which the Kaffirs had lost in the war—that lying between the Great Fish and the Keiskamma rivers, which now took the name of the Ceded Territory—was given up to them. This concession proved a most complete failure. All along the frontier line, wherever it happened to be, there was a constant state of warfare: but this new conciliatory policy augmented the daring of the enemy a hundredfold, and robberies of cattle and other stock were multiplied to a ruinous extent. A strong military force managed to keep things quiet till 1846, when a third war deluged the country with rapine and with blood. Sir Harry Smith was sent out to close the struggle at all hazards, and to stop the heavy military expenditure which the war had occasioned. He found it terminated on his arrival; but he released those chiefs who ever afterwards were a thorn in his side. The Kaffirs lost much in this war. The ceded territory had again become colonial; and was now portioned out in the districts of Victoria, Fort Peddie, part of Beaufort, and Albert. The colonists might well expect some compensation for the war. Their loss in crops and stocks alone was estimated at about £500,000. In addition to the forfeiture of the ceded territory, another penalty was exacted from the Kaffir people, by the nominal annexation of a large and valuable tract of country to the British crown—a tract of about 4,000 square miles in extent, extremely beautiful and fertile, watered by numerous streams, possessing forests of valuable timber, and accessible by means of an excellent seaport. This accession was entitled British Kaffraria. It was subdivided into the counties of Lincoln, Bedford, Cambridge, Middlesex, Sussex, Yorkshire, and Northumberland; the whole being apportioned to the respective chiefs and followers who came forward and declared themselves willing to bear true allegiance to the British crown.

It may be needful to repeat, that this last accession of territory—British Kaffraria—was not wrested from the Kaffirs *in toto*; but they were suffered to retain certain divisions, apportioned out to each tribe by government proclamation, under their own laws, modified, in some degree, by British rule. A system of forts was established, garrisoned by British troops; towns and villages were laid out by British settlers; stations were established by British traders: in short, a conjoint occupancy of the district was the system adopted. Here an Englishman,



there a Kaffir; here a kraal, there a fort; here the residence of a chief, there the dwelling of a missionary, and the store of a trader. The natives who occupied this district, in common with the British, were known as Gaikas and H'lambies, with the Tambookies in the north. A policy was adopted, in case of theft, to make the first chief's kraal to which the spoor or trail was followed, afford restitution, and pay the fine, leaving him to seek redress from the actual offender. This system worked most admirably. Depredations diminished, and, comparatively speaking, ceased. The power of the chiefs over their people was gradually being weakened by the government dealing out equity and justice to every man alike, and by preventing the chiefs eating up and despoiling their serfs. British commissioners adjudged all wrongs; and the Kaffirs were practically taught that the laws of civilised men were much more just than the capricious wills of their hereditary rulers. All Kaffirland was fast becoming Christianised and civilised. Means were taken to improve and instruct the people. Some possessed waggons, oxen, and other property; seeds, and implements of husbandry, were placed at their disposal. Stations, schools, and churches, were rising up throughout the land; and all seemed bright and fair. The admirable and just policy of Sir Harry Smith was most vigorously carried out by Colonel Mackinnon and the sub-commissioners. It was a system in which civil privileges and military enforcements worked harmoniously. Two divisions of native police, of 200 men each, performed all the duties of the civil power. The Kaffirs, seeing that the plunder of a colony was a loss rather than a gain to themselves, began to devote their time to a more careful cultivation of their lands; and having amassed a little property, soon began to appreciate those laws which protected the honest, and punished the rogue.

But the chiefs were jealous of all these fine proceedings. Their power was in jeopardy, and they knew it. They could no longer, on a flimsy pretence, pounce upon one of their serfs, and rob him of his cattle, to enrich their kraals. War-dances, witchcraft, and other mummeries were strictly forbidden. Had the system of Sir H. Smith been continued a few years longer, undoubtedly the happiest results would have ensued.

To all appearance, the greatest contentment prevailed throughout British Kaffraria; and yet, amidst this outward calm, there was a secret conspiracy at work. The notorious Sandilli was instigating his chieftains and followers to unite in driving the colonists out of the country. He sent the following message in June, 1850:—"Arise, clans of the Kaffir nation! the white man has wearied us: they are depriving us of our rights, which we inherit from our forefathers; we are deprived of our chieftainship, and the white man is the chief to whom we are obliged to submit. Sandilli will die fighting for the rights of his forefathers." Pato, to whom this message was sent, replied—"I was instigated to join you in the last war, but it shall be the last; it shall never more be said that Pato has joined in a war against the colony." Some of the other chiefs were willing to join with Sandilli; but contended that the time had not come. The Kaffirs who were in the colonial service were told to keep their eyes open. A monstrous birth—a child with two heads—was said to have taken place in Kaffirland, or Tambookieland, about two months after this. The infant was represented to have spoken immediately after birth, and to have predicted the overthrow of the English; and then died. Towards the end of September, another witch-doctor, or prophet, sprang up, whom Sandilli speedily made subservient to his purpose by working upon the superstitious feelings of the natives. The name of this impostor was Umlanjani, a young Kaffir of the Gaika tribe. He made himself notorious by standing up to the chin in a pond of water for several hours without food. He next ordered a general purification of all the Kaffir warriors, which took place upon the top of a mountain. This madman soon began to exercise an extraordinary influence over the minds of the people. He was visited by the chiefs of the Kaffir tribes first, and afterwards by those of the H'lambies; and, finally, by the Tambookies. At this time there were hundreds of Kaffirs—men, women, and children—at service



in the colony, or living in sufferance upon the farmers' lands. Secret and mysterious messages from their respective chiefs caused servants to desert their masters. A toil-worn messenger would arrive at a location of native huts during the night, and before dawn on the following morning they had all disappeared, together with their movable effects; whilst the courier passed on to warn others of his countrymen, or gave over the "word" to a comrade, by which means it was passed from hut to hut, and farm to farm, in a manner, as has been remarked, strikingly resembling Roderick Dhu's assembling his clansmen, in Scott's tale of the *Lady of the Lake*.

"Fast as the fatal symbol flies,  
In arms the huts and hamlets rise;  
From winding glen, from upland brown,  
They poured each hardy tenant down;  
Nor slack'd the messenger his pace:  
He showed the sign, he named the place;  
And pressing forward like the wind,  
Left clamour and surprise behind.  
The fisherman forsook the strand,  
The swarthy smith took dirk and brand;  
With changed cheer, the mower blithe,  
Left in the half-cut swathe the scythe.  
The herds, without a keeper, strayed;  
The plough was in mid-furrow staid;  
The hunter left the stag at bay;  
The falconer tossed his hawk away;  
Prompt at the signal of alarms,  
Each son of Alpine rushed to arms;  
So swept the tumult and affray,  
Along the margin of Achray."

Many of these servants possessed cattle, which they abandoned; others had wages due: but they cared not to stop for money. The Gaikas were called first, then the H'lambies, and, lastly, the Tambookies, being the order in which their respective chiefs had presented themselves before the prophet. To such an extent was this desertion of servants carried, that the farmers and their families had not only their household work to do, but the herding, in many instances, of extensive flocks had to be performed by children, in a bushy and intricate country, infested by beasts of prey. When the deserting servants reached Kaffirland, they were received by the prophet in common with the other tribes. At these meetings the impostor spoke of his immense power, his ability to drive all the English out of the country, to discomfort the military, and to turn the fire of artillery into water. He would not receive any offering from his devotees; but said that he was sent as a deliverer, and did not want to enrich himself at the expense of his people. This assembly of the servants in Kaffirland was regarded as extremely ominous by those who were well acquainted with the native character; and many openly expressed their opinion that mischief was brewing.

Mr. George Cyrus, superintendent of natives in Graham's Town, an indefatigable and vigilant officer, obtained so much information through his office, as led him to believe that the Kaffirs were meditating a movement against the colony; and, on the 15th of August, he laid his views before the civil commissioner for Albany (the leading frontier district), who forwarded the communication to Sir Harry Smith, in Cape Town; but, at that time, everything in Kaffraria wore so peaceful an aspect, that Mr. Cyrus was looked upon as a groundless alarmist.

During September, the notes of war and peace were alternately in the ascendant. More thefts than usual were committed; but this was ascribed to the fact of an universal and trying drought oppressing Kaffirland, by which the Kaffirs were reduced to great straits—almost to starvation, as the cattle afforded no milk, and the corn was not then available. Towards the middle of October, however, the plot began to thicken. Some of the Kaffir servants had returned to tell their masters to flee as fast and far as they could; that war was inevitable. A few of



the frontier stockmasters attended to the admonition, and moved off their cattle and sheep towards Algoa Bay, and the western part of the division of Uitenhage. Confidential messengers were sent into Kaffirland, by traders and others, to ascertain the exact position of affairs. These men returned, and the general tone of their advices was, that war was probable, but not yet. Great differences now prevailed upon the subject; some being confident of war; others assured of peace. The British commissioners among the Kaffir tribes scouted the idea of war; and entrenching themselves in a conviction that the number of their spies, countless sources of intelligence, and means of personal observation, precluded the possibility of a movement taking place in Kaffirland without immediate notice being given of it, reposed in fanciful security, and endeavoured further to allay the alarm of others, who had less chance of watching the state of affairs so narrowly. No blame is attached to those officers, who discharged their duties faithfully and nobly. They believed that all was working harmoniously; but in that belief they were imposed upon, and deceived.

The frontier inhabitants, however, were not thus blinded. One of them wrote, October, 1850, as follows:—"Last year Sandilli made a tour through the country, and laid before the several chiefs the position they stood in, not only with the prospect of losing their country, but, by degrees, also their power as chiefs. Since which, communications have continually been passing between the several chiefs, on the same subject. After the removal of the people from Blackwater, Macomo made a *personal* visit to Pato, Umhala, Kreli, Malpas, and Umtuara (the Tambookie chief), showing to each chief the necessity of combined attack, for the purpose of regaining their country. With this reasoning he prevailed upon them to assemble, either personally or by representative, to consult the great prophet Umlanjeni, and abide his decision. The result was, that Sandilli sent all the minor chiefs of his clan: there were also present Pato's son; Umhala, by deputy; Kreli, by ditto; Malpas, by Koos, his brother; Umtuara's sons, and also one of Jan Hermanus's sons. The most serious aspect of the matter is, that the Gona Kaffirs are likely to join against us in this great struggle. The question to the prophet, by all the great chiefs, was, what they were to do under present circumstances? The English had their land, and were treating them like dogs; drying up the country with the sun; and, if left alone, would starve them all to death. The prophet replied, he had talked about the matter with the spirit (Umthlogo), before they came, and would tell them in the morning what the spirit said. Accordingly, in the morning, he pronounced that war was in the land, and requested them to assemble in two parties; those with guns on one side, those with assegais on the other. The gun party represented the English; those with assegais, the English. He placed them opposite, and requested the gun party to fire, and the others to lie flat on their faces; then arise, run suddenly upon their foes, and seize them with their hands—which was done. He told them that was the way in which they were to fight the English. He then invested Macomo and Umhala as the two great commanders. No other chief was to give orders but those two. He was then asked what they were to eat? He produced two sheepskins, and one goatskin, saying he would provide those animals for them during the war. The signal for the outbreak was to be an attempt on our part to seize him, which he predicted would be when the present moon became bright. They were then to make a general rush into the colony, occupy Bushman's River, and Sunday River, Poorts, and a portion of the Kroome and Fish River: Kreli to move down, and occupy British Kaffraria. After the meeting, messengers were sent to all in Kaffirland, and to all the Kaffirs in the colony, recalling them, their wives, and children; with an injunction that they were not to steal, or they would break the spell, and also to preserve the utmost secrecy."

By this time, it was felt that the affairs of the frontier had become critical. Numerous representations determined the governor to visit the unsettled locality in person. Accordingly, he sailed from Simon's Bay, with a portion of his staff,



on the 17th of October, in the steamer *Hermes*. A wide-spread alarm had, by this time, seized the colonists, and a meeting was held in Graham's Town, to present the governor with an address on the subject. In his reply, he deeply regretted to learn that so many farmers had left their homes. He added—"With respect to the supposition that the Kaffir chiefs have actually plotted to attack the colony, I have, as yet, been unable to trace any direct evidence that such has been the case. The present excitement is marked by a very peculiar feature. While the colonists expect an inroad from the Kaffirs, the latter are under the same apprehension with regard to the colonists.

"You are right, gentlemen, in considering that the Kaffir chiefs ought not to be permitted to exercise authority; the fact that they have been deprived of this power is the very cause of the present excitement. All that I have hitherto been able to discover is the existence of a restlessness on their part, while confidence in the British rule prevails among the people. The power of the chiefs is nominal; and if they have endeavoured to test it, the result is most favourable to ourselves." In his postscript, Sir Harry Smith added—"I am happy to acquaint you, gentlemen, that reports this day, throughout British Kaffraria, are most satisfactory; and I am in great hopes of being able to arrest some of the Kaffirs who, within the colony, have spread alarming reports."

After Sir Harry Smith had been a few days in Kaffirland, he issued a government notice, advising the farmers who had fled, to return to their homes, assuring them that no danger was to be anticipated; and pledging himself for their protection. The suddenness of his excellency's movements had evidently a startling effect upon the Kaffirs, who were apprehensive of punishment. They all came to quiet him except Sandilli, who was deposed in consequence. The commissioner of the Gaikas assembled that tribe at Fort Cox, on the 2nd of November, to explain to them the reason for, and nature of, their chief's deposition. The "Pokati," or chief men, stated that Sandilli owed everything to Smith (meaning the governor); and that his offence was one of which he must take the consequences. About 350 Kaffirs were present at this meeting; and the official account stated, that "the feeling manifested was extremely good, and that matters were in a most satisfactory state." Yet, all the while, it was clear to many that no dependence could be placed upon the pacific professions of a people who, a few days before, had been holding monster meetings of warriors, armed with guns and assegais. Colonial opinion was much divided: the governor believed in peace; but many believed in the certainty of war.

On the 7th of December, 1850, a local newspaper thus wrote:—"The time has arrived when the people of this frontier should be told that the danger of war is imminent, if not inevitable." An affray had taken place near Fort Cox, respecting the levy of a fine for a theft of cattle. The Kaffirs had refused to make restitution: and this was looked upon as a sure sign of war. Half the fine was ultimately offered, but refused; and was never paid, as more weighty matters now began to engage the attention of both parties. When the Kaffirs eat meat it is a sure sign that they intend war; and, at this time, the prophet Umlanjeni, whose command they obeyed, now ordered them to slay and eat. Feasting became the order of the day; frantic dances formed the interlude; and a species of intoxication was brought about, which prepared the Kaffir youth for any act of devilry. All Kaffirland was in a state of ferment; and the governor-general, who had only returned to Cape Town, was recalled to the frontier. On the 10th of December, a proclamation was published, calling on the inhabitants to arm. Not much apprehension was felt as to the safety of the towns; but the isolated farmers began to flee in all directions.

On the day before Christmas the Kaffir war commenced. The commander-in-chief had received certain information that Sandilli had taken up a strong position in the Keiskamma Hoek, to which point it was determined to detach a strong patrol of 600 men, under the command of Commissioner Colonel Mackinnon.



This officer moved forward accordingly up the bushy valley of the Keiskamma, when suddenly, in a woody neck, he found himself entrapped and attacked. The affair was the signal of war for Kaffirland, and, unfortunately, resulted in the defeat of our troops. There is too much reason to believe that the Kaffir police led the patrol into this ambushade: they formed the advanced party, and were suffered to pass unmolested; but as soon as the infantry moved up, a murderous fire of small arms was opened upon them. The police rewarded this leniency, on the part of their fellow-countrymen, by subsequently deserting from the British ranks, and going over to the enemy, taking with them their arms and ammunition. Another feature in the Keiskamma affair was likewise regarded with great suspicion: the privates of the Cape-mounted Rifles escaped unhurt; and these being chiefly Hottentots, it was considered, at the time, that this was also an allurements, on the part of the Gaikas, to win this race of people over to their cause. Subsequent events proved the correctness of this idea, and the craftiness with which the enemy had laid his plans.

About the same time, three men of the 45th regiment, having been sent on escort duty from Fort White, were murdered by Kaffirs. Twelve of their comrades, who were sent out to seek them, were also murdered in a similar manner.

On Christmas-day martial law was proclaimed throughout the frontier districts; and on that day many of the military villages were pillaged and burnt, and several of their male inhabitants cruelly butchered.

It appeared now evident to all that the enemy was determined on war to the knife. This was made clear. A force under Colonel Somerset left Fort Hare, on the 29th, to escort a few provisions to the commander-in-chief, shut up in Fort Cox. The royal force had to retreat with a loss of twenty-two killed, and nearly as many wounded.

The commander-in-chief managed, though with difficulty, to reach his headquarters in King William's Town; but he saw the actual danger of the colony, and determined to hold, with the grasp of death, his military positions. Irritated at the treachery of the savages, he issued a proclamation, calling upon all. It proceeded—"His excellency does most ardently hope that the colonists will rise *en masse* to aid her majesty's troops, and the reinforcement of men and guns, which will shortly arrive at East London, to destroy and exterminate these most barbarous and treacherous sayages, who, for the moment, are formidable. Every post in British Kaffraria is necessarily maintained. The abandonment of one of them would have been the signal to every H'lambie chief. They are well provisioned for six weeks, and form a nucleus for an invading army of patriots. The Gaikas must be driven out of the Anatos, and expelled for ever. However great the inroad into the colony may have been, it is consoling to his excellency to know that the maintenance of these posts, which, indeed, could not have been abandoned, occupies the attention of thousands of Kaffirs, who, otherwise, would have gone into the colony. The line of the Buffalo must be maintained *coûte qui coûte*. It involves the safety even of her majesty's troops, which is paramount."

One of the first measures adopted at this exigency was to confer upon Colonel Somerset the temporary rank of major-general—a distinction which he had well earned by his able, zealous, and arduous services on the frontier, where he had served for the long period of thirty years. Another important step was to communicate with the government of Natal, and to request that a force of some 3,000 Zulu warriors might be moved towards the borders of the Tambookie and Galeka countries, so as to threaten those tribes in the rear. A third measure was the enrolment of the Hottentots upon very liberal terms.

The enemy at this time were the Gaikas, to the number of 5,000, under Sandilli, Macomo, and minor chiefs. To these must be added some of H'lambies. The Tambookies, about 7,000 strong, under Mapassa and Nyila, were engaged. Umzeki, a chieftain at the head of 2,000, also had allied himself to them. The



accoutrement of all these warriors was of the simplest description: a sheepskin kaross formed their uniform; a musket and powder-horn, or a bundle of assegais, as the case might be, formed their arms. Those of them having muskets were well trained to the use of them; others had assegais, which, by practice, they could hurl with deadly precision at thirty yards. Thus lightly equipped they possessed numerous advantages for the species of bush-fighting which characterises Kaffir warfare, and had, in this respect, a great advantage over the regular troops. Another thing in their favour was the rapidity of Kaffir movements, and the stealth by which they can insinuate themselves into a district. "To-day," as it is remarked in a very useful work, to which we are indebted for the contents of this chapter (*A Narrative of the Kaffir War of 1850-'51*; by R. Godlinton and Edward Irving), "not a Kaffir is to be seen or *smelled out* within eighty miles. To-morrow the country is overrun with them. The word is given to go forth and despoil; the numerous signal-fires speedily show how implicitly the command has been obeyed."

The enemy now numbered 14,000 warriors; but this combination was further increased. The Hottentots of the Kat River, a settlement of the London Missionary Society, became affected, and many of them joined the rebel band of Hermanus, and stood prominently forward as instruments in the devastation and ravages which followed in the Wenterberg district. Emissaries were sent by these Hottentots to their friends throughout the frontier, urging them to unite with the Kaffirs in exterminating the white man. Kreli, the paramount chief of Kaffirland, was, at this period, keenly watched and much suspected. He had 10,000 warriors, of whom the colonists stood in awe. It was also well known that a single reverse of the troops would be the signal for all the remaining tribes of the H'lambies, still numbering 5,000 men, to precipitate themselves into Lower Albany—a rich and flourishing district, abounding with corn and cattle.

Meanwhile matters were not progressing very favourably with the rebels. Hermanus attacked Fort Beaufort, and lost his life in the attempt. Other disasters followed. Numbers of Kaffirs having been slain in the engagement at Fort White and the Chumie, the prophet Umlanjeni was asked, "Why he had not been able to turn the Englishmen's bullets into water, as he had stated himself to be able to do?" The wily impostor replied, "That the Kaffirs had commenced the war, whereas his instructions were that they were to await the commencement of hostilities by the English." But with a view of remedying the error, and of rendering his native warriors invulnerable, he directed two colonists' heads, slain at the Blinkwater, to be roasted on a fire of mimosa bark. These being burnt to cinder with the ashes, he sprinkled his Kaffir dupes, bidding them go forth and conquer. And it might be fancied the dust thus scattered by the prophet contained the seeds of evil, as, in one missionary or other settlement after another, the Hottentots rose up against the government, to which they owed their all. An effort was made by the Kat River missionaries to save the Hottentots from revolt; but, unfortunately, it was too late. The Rubicon had been passed, and the seeds of disaffection to the local government, and dislike to the English settlers, had been too deeply and successfully sown to be easily eradicated. Efforts to reclaim them were unavailing. Before the attack by Hermanus on Fort Beaufort, the natives of the Kat River settlement had been joined by numbers of their countrymen, who had deserted and robbed their masters.

The Hottentots had formed the most ambitious schemes. The younger Read—a missionary of Hottentot lineage, on the maternal side, and born and brought up among the Hottentots of Kat River—attended a meeting of the rebels at the Blinkwater, and reported, that in what was said, "there was the essence of agrarian equality, of French socialism, liberty, equality, fraternity, radical destructiveness and levelling, and the uprooting of existing social arrangements. Politically, some were for independent government in this country, and which was only to be inhabited by Hottentots, Boers, and Gaika Kaffirs, on this side of the Kei



and Great rivers, to the sea, east and west. Hottentot-land was to extend from Gaikas Peak, round by Shiloh, the Kei, Bayian's River, across the Zuurbergen to the Sunday River; bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, and thence across the country to Chumie hills. They stated, that they were ready to fight under his excellency, if only the Saxon (as the Irish would say), the settler or *gwee* (scum of the sea; for so they styled the English), could be got to leave the land. To attempt to recover, or put into shape, all the complaints that were made against the English, would be supererogatory and endless. Some there were who spoke of the election of a chief as first magistrate. Others thought it would be a treasonable act, and would have nothing to do with such a measure. Some young aspirants, and other friends, spoke of secretaryships; others of judgeships, and all the other paraphernalia of rank and office. Fancy seemed fairly on the wing, and, mounted on Pegasus, was soaring above the present political and social order of things. With some, the founding of a Hottentot monarchy or republic, seemed as easy a thing as it was for the winged horse, by the striking of his hoof, to raise a fountain in the wilderness: to re-mould and re-classify society; to re-build destroyed cities, and drive the English into the sea, as facile a thing as for Amphion to move stones, and raise the walls of Thebes by the melody of song." In one respect, the calculation of the leaders of the rebels was not misplaced. They trusted to the sympathies of the natives. If they were told that levies were arming from every part of the colony, to subdue the Kaffirs, and suppress rebellion, they would only reply—"Let them come; they will soon understand the rights of our case." Whatever amount of loyalty there might be in the settlement, it was soon clear it was insufficient to stem, or in any way to counteract, the tide of rebellion.

The horrors of colonial warfare cannot be sufficiently dwelt on. The land is peaceful; smiling homesteads are filled with plenty; flocks and herds increase; and of a sudden, comes the foe, and all is desolation, and ruin, and death. During the progress of the events which we have narrated, the Kaffirs, in conjunction with the rebel Hottentots, were most active in their attacks upon other parts of the colonial border, which was crossed, and the colony penetrated as far as the Addo bush. The whole line of country between Graham's Town and the Orange River, comprising the richest part of the eastern province, embracing an extent of not less than 250 miles in length, dotted with farm-houses, and teeming, a few weeks before, with flocks of fine-woolled sheep, troops of horses, and herds of cattle, was described as desolate; nearly every homestead being abandoned, and every flock and herd either swept off by the enemy, or driven by the owner, with immense loss, to such a distance as might appear to afford him hope of immunity from the spoliation and murder then so rife on that unfortunate frontier.

A correspondent, writing from Lyndoch, states—"As far as we could discern with the naked eye, the valleys and low parts in the direction of Fort Beaufort, seemed enveloped in smoke. The volumes of smoke issuing from the locality of Mr. Abraham Botha's residence, led us reluctantly to suppose that his homestead, and other dwelling-houses in that vicinity, had been submitted to the firebrand of the irreclaimable savages who had been passing to-and-fro in those parts. I have lately heard that Botha's place, with the exception of one dwelling-house, has been totally destroyed, and a large portion of the Mancanzana post burned down.

"At the village of Somerset, the Dutch church is fortified, and a parapet constructed along the roof, behind which the defenders may take their stand, and fire upon any assailant. The sacred edifice is likewise converted into a guard-house. What would the people of our native land say if they were compelled to convert their beautiful village churches into castles of defence, and if every one of the parishioners was compelled to mount guard every third night, in fearful and hourly anticipation of a hostile attack taking place."

Accounts from the village and district of Cradock ran thus:—"All hands here have enough to do; high and low, rich and poor, have to turn out day after day.



The most urgent calls for help, for men and ammunition, come in, this being the only point from which they can get either. Yesterday we had two expresses from Bavian's River, imploring help. The Hottentots, in great numbers, have assembled in those parts, and, with the Kaffirs, are devastating the country. The whole of the country of Upper Bushman's River, Mancanzana, Kaga, and Koonap, is laid waste, and plundered. The frontier line is now, in this direction, within thirty miles of Cradock. Numbers have already fled, and the whole of the district is dotted over with houseless farmers, wandering to-and-fro.

"Never have, in any former inroad of the Kaffirs, the horrors of warfare been so universal as at present. The district of Cradock used always to be resorted to by the farmers, who fled hither from the lower districts for protection; and the capital, which bears the same name, had, ever since its founding by Sir John Cradock, in 1811, been regarded as a position of the most complete repose and security. In this instance, however, we are an outpost. This is chiefly owing to the circumstance of the Tambookies having so committed themselves to the war party; and, further, by the rebellion of the Kat River and Blinkwater Hottentots, by which means alone a tract of country, seventy-two miles long, and sixty-one broad, is desolated, which, in previous wars, had formed the pasture-ground of refuge flocks."

Colesberg, also far removed from the seat of any previous war, was at this time convulsed by the most serious alarms. The inhabitants patrolled the town from the hour the constables' duty ceased till daylight. It was divided into three provisional wards, and the time of duty apportioned into three watches. The powder-magazine was particularly guarded, as large supplies are generally kept there. It being the last north frontier town that the traders and sportsmen pass through *en route* to elephant shooting, and other pursuits in the far interior, supplies of ammunition are generally well laid in, and carefully replenished; and thus the frontier was overrun, and alarm and desolation reigned everywhere. At the most, there were not 3,000 British soldiers in the colony; and, with Hottentots and Fingoes, Sir H. Smith had never more than 12,000 men at his disposal.

Notwithstanding the direful sufferings that the Kaffirs, as a nation, had inflicted upon the colony from time to time, the leniency of a civilised state was fully extended to them. On the outbreak of the war, the farmers had become suspicious of their servants; and many plots and conspiracies having been detected, great numbers of Kaffir domestics were placed in the district gaols; but as no overt acts had been directly laid to their charge, the governor ordered the liberation of all belonging to the friendly tribes, after an imprisonment of about two months. On the day of release, they were each supplied with three days' rations, to enable them to reach their own tribes. On the 27th of February, fifty-two women and fifty-two children were thus set free; and two days later, forty men and boys were liberated from Graham's Town. Certain prisoners of war, however, of the hostile tribes were still detained in custody. No act of state oppression nor individual cruelty was thus permitted towards any of the Kaffir nation who fell into the hands of the colonists. Every one was ready to meet the foe in the field, but unwilling to take any undue advantage out of it. Yet the whole land was at this time utterly prostrate, and men seemed solemnly called upon to consider attentively the terror of their position, and not only to avoid what might evoke a continuance of their sufferings, but to humble themselves before the fearful scourge which had appeared. In unison with this feeling, a day of general humiliation was proclaimed by government, and was reverentially observed by every Christian church throughout the colony. The places of worship were thronged; and the whole population joined in fervent prayer that the visitation might be removed from the land by the special interposition of Providence—it being felt that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, vain was the help of man.

The rebellion of the Kat River Hottentots was now complete; and the settle-



ment having been vacated by the European residents, and by the resident magistrates, became the focus of the revolutionary acts of the frontier Hottentots. Their crimes had here been bred and nurtured; and here, it appears, were to be still further propagated, and to reach their climax. Here it seemed determined to plant that imaginary Hottentot republic, which was to overthrow British rule. To effect this, accessions of strength had been sought for from every source. The whole of the north-east border had sent its aid; and the inner localities of Oliphant's Hook, in Uitenhage, and Theopolis, in Albany, were tampered with, and fully won over to the mad cause of their race; but the two latter were, through the vigilance of the local authorities, incapacitated from rendering any assistance. Uithaalter, the rebel leader, was now at Fort Armstrong, surrounded by several hundreds of his followers, subsisting upon the plunder of the colonial farmers. The fort, being a place of considerable strength, seemed to have been chosen as the head-quarters of this rebel commandant, who appeared ever active in proposing plans of robbery and incendiarism, for execution within the colony. This notoriously bad character enforced the most implicit obedience to his commands, and issued his orders "with the air of a general." Licentiousness was, however, unchecked; and the Hottentot population appeared to have become utterly negligent of that moral law, for whose observance they had been so often applauded in the reports of the London Missionary Society. The whole of the parent community of the Kat River settlement, and every bud and branch thereof, seemed to be seeking, with headlong haste, to rush back again to that barbarism from which many years of patient teaching had, in some degree at least, reclaimed them. The progress of demoralisation, however, seemed to be much more rapid than that of improvement. Half a century had been spent, though not judiciously, to attain the latter, whilst a few weeks had well-nigh perfected the former. Revelling in their newly-revived heathenism, and glutted with the spoils they had won from the plundered colonists, the Hottentots refused all offers of peace and pardon. At length their conduct became unbearable. They were attacked and defeated by a miscellaneous force under Major-General Somerset. The success of the operation was speedy and complete.

Matters being thus unsatisfactory, Sir Harry Smith was superseded, though not before he had received, July 29th, 1851, an address from the despoiled burghers respecting their inability to protect their property. The memorial stated, that within the preceding six weeks, the enemy had swept off, from the district of Somerset alone, 20,000 sheep, 3,000 head of cattle, and 200 horses. Sir Harry, in his answer, reproved them for their past conduct; but sympathising with their present distress, expressed a hope, when reinforcements arrived, which were then daily expected, that "it would be in his power to make a more extended disposal of the force under his command."

Skirmishes were of frequent occurrence, in which the superiority of British discipline was constantly manifested; but the advantages resulting from them were not very great. On the 31st of July, the draft of a constitution for the colony, transmitted by Earl Grey, reached the Cape. It was read with great joy by the colonists; and a petition, expressive of their gratitude, was voted at a public meeting in Cape Town, praying that it might be put in force without delay, and that no alterations suggested by the legislative council of the settlement might be attended to, as that body did not possess the confidence of the colonists.

General Cathcart having arrived, no time was lost in acting with vigour and comprehension against the enemy. One of his first official acts was to issue a notice, declaring his determination to expel the refractory Gaika Kaffir tribes for ever from the country between the Keiskamma and the Kei; at the same time, promising protection to those who remained friendly, and submitted to his authority. The whole of the troops, and other forces, were disposed in strong bodies across the entire country, for the purpose, by combined operations, of carrying this sentence into execution. A general order was also issued to the troops, directing that, in



future, all cattle taken by them from the enemy, should be at once destroyed, reserving only what might be required for immediate supplies, in order to avoid the harassing and dangerous duty of guarding and driving the captured herds, and, at the same time, to convince the Kaffirs that the object of the war was not the acquisition of booty. Measures were promptly adopted to cut off their supply of ammunition; and it was soon perceived that this began to be severely felt by the marauders; but still no disposition to submit was manifested. Their ravages were continued, and stragglers were frequently surprised and murdered. They maintained themselves in a stronghold known as the Waterkloof, but were thence expelled by General Cathcart on the 15th of September. To effect this, he led against them a force of 3,000, with four guns. Two redoubts were thrown up on the 13th, and the troops were so posted as to command every accessible outlet from the intended scene of operations. Some 250 women and children were captured, who were found in a state of great emaciation. A number of huts were fired. The Kloof was traversed in all directions, and completely cleared of its late occupants. The chief, Sandilli, and his associates, escaped; and though submission was still deferred, it was now confidently expected the war would soon reach its termination. To the government at home the questions thence arising were painfully embarrassing. From the peculiar character of the country, it had been found most difficult to conquer, or effectually repulse, a race of desperate barbarians. The civilised inhabitants of the settlement were accused of being unwilling to defend themselves. They yielded reluctant obedience to the parent state, while they looked to it for support. Adequate military aid it was not easy to supply, but at an exorbitant cost; while to abandon South Africa to premature independence, would have been to assign it to endless wars, in which Europeans, Africans, Hottentots, Kaffirs, Dutchmen, and Englishmen would have fought with each other. Had England adopted such a course, it would have been the first step in her decline and fall.

Sandilli, at length, was driven into submission. In the month of February, 1853, he sent two messengers to Colonel Maclean, the British commissioner, begging a cessation of hostilities, and desiring to know what district would be assigned to him and his tribe. General Cathcart then sent Mr. Brownlee to meet Sandilli, and the subordinate chiefs, at a spot of ground within the territories of a chief who had remained at peace with us during the whole of the war. The interview took place on the 27th of February; and, on the 2nd of March, an official proclamation was issued by General Cathcart, stating that, as her majesty's authority had been sufficiently vindicated, he extended the royal mercy and pardon to the chief Sandilli, and the Gaika people. It then defined the country in which the Kaffirs were to live; bound Sandilli to deliver up a hundred guns, in addition to those stolen by the Kaffir police; and to become responsible for the good conduct of the Gaika people. It commanded that each minor chief lately in rebellion should deliver up his arms, in token of submission, and bind himself to obey her majesty's commands; failing in which he was to be dealt with as an outlaw.

Sandilli, on being made acquainted with these terms, complained that the territory assigned to his tribe by the governor was not sufficiently large; and he desired General Cathcart to send a petition on their behalf to the Queen of England, that their lands might be restored to them, or they "would be obliged to go to war with each other for grass." The conditions were, however, accepted by the Kaffir chiefs generally, and confirmed in an interview which General Cathcart had with them, on the 9th of March, at a place called the Yellow Woods, seven miles from King William's Town. Peace was now restored, and the Gaika tribe was compelled to retire 200 miles to the north of its former frontier; and the Kei and Orange rivers became the undisputed boundaries of British Kaffraria to the north and east. Since then, the lesson read has not been forgotten, and there has been peace between the Kaffirs and the colonists, who desire only to be let alone.



The peace party, the missionaries, the humanitarians, were up in arms. Some asserted that the result of a parliamentary inquiry would make the Christian people of this country shudder when they saw how British honour had been polluted, and the laurels of the hero of Aliwal trailed in shame. There seems to have been no ground for this latter invective. But, at any rate, it was felt that a stop must be put to the Kaffir war; that no honour could be got from it. Men asked—if we conquer savages, as we termed them, and as they were, where was the glory? It was evident that we could not conquer them; that, in their mountain fastnesses they were a match for us. It was felt that peace and fair dealing alone could conquer them—that they could be won by kindly and generous treatment. It was felt that if we would preserve our colonies, it is not by issuing bombastic proclamations, or insolent demands; not by violating or setting aside treaties, and trampling on the bent heads of chiefs; not by seizing coveted land, or extending our military force. It was felt it was better, if possible, to civilise, rather than subdue the proud, and ignorant, and independent Kaffir. The missionaries had been deceived; the Kaffir converts failed in the hour of trial; but that was no reason that such should ever be the case.

In Jamaica, there had been a terrible attack of cholera, in consequence, chiefly, of the bad habits of the blacks.

About the same time, an impetus was given to colonisation by the discovery of gold-fields, of the most extensive character, in California and Australia.

Some indignation was excited at this time by news of outrages on British subjects. On the 27th of January, 1852, the English barque *Victory*, belonging to Messrs. Wilson and Cook, of Singapore, arrived there, in charge of the chief officer, Mr. Vagg, with intelligence that the master and some of the crew had been foully murdered by the Chinese passengers on board; and that, for several weeks, they were complete masters of the vessel. It appears the *Victory* left Cum Sing Moon with 350 Chinese, the very refuse of the streets of Canton and Hong-Kong. Four days after sailing the captain was seized and murdered by a party of Chinese; the second mate, in the endeavour to rescue his master, also lost his life. The crew were chiefly in the fore-castle, and were hemmed in by the Chinese. The chief mate was commanded to sail the vessel for the nearest land, when the greater portion of the Chinese left, taking with them as much plunder as they could carry away. Many fights took place among the mutineers themselves, and several lives were lost, including the ringleader, a desperate character. The crew navigated the ship along the coast of Cambodia, where the remainder of the Chinese were landed. The *Victory* was the fourth vessel, bound to South America, which had been cut off by Chinese coolies proceeding as passengers.

Another more atrocious case occurred shortly after. The English barque, *Herald*, Captain Lawson, left Shanghai on the 26th of August, with a valuable cargo of silk, teas, &c., for Leith, with a crew consisting of European, Portuguese, and Manilla men. The *Herald* passed through the Straits of Sunda on the 22nd of October; and, three or four days afterwards, a mutiny broke out. During the chief mate's watch at night, he was seized, murdered, and thrown overboard; the second mate and carpenter shared the same fate. The captain, with his wife, was asleep below: one of the crew went down with a hatchet, and despatched him; and Mrs. Lawson, after giving up every little article of value to induce the villains to spare her life, was most brutally outraged; and, under the treatment to which she was subjected, became deranged. The gunner took command of the vessel, which was then about a hundred miles from the coast. At daylight, an awful scene was displayed; but the thirst for blood was not allayed. In a few days after the ship was scuttled, and Mrs. Lawson was among the drowned. The mutineers reached the coast of Bantam, with the plunder taken from the vessel. Suspicions were aroused at the account they gave of themselves, and in consequence of the amount of luggage in their possession. The Dutch resident sent them to Batavia, whence, in close custody, they were passed on to Singapore, and lodged in gaol.



The story of Mr. Boyd, also, at this time created considerable excitement and sympathy. The unfortunate gentleman, a member of the Stock Exchange, was making a tour, in his own yacht, from California to Sydney, and had visited the Solomon Islands, in the South Pacific. The natives came in their canoes to trade with the people on board the yacht. One morning in October, Mr. Boyd, having risen early, went on shore to shoot game, taking with him one native of Ocean Island. The boat was seen to enter a small creek, and was then lost to view from the ship. Mr. Boyd fired one shot soon after. A little while after, another shot was fired, but it aroused no suspicion. During the morning, several natives were very persevering in their attempts to get on board the ship, or to induce the sailors to go on shore: but, happily, without success. Breakfast having been ready for some time, the gong was sounded for Mr. Boyd, but no answer was returned. At this moment, a native, having stolen a handkerchief, and pulling off some distance, held it up for the crew to go and get it. They sent Godong, a native of Byron Island, to swim for it; but as he approached the canoe pulled off, and he was recalled. Two natives followed him, and attacked, with a club, a fellow-islander. The alarm was now raised; but the crew were quite unprepared. The deck-guns were neither loaded nor run out; their small arms were below; but in five minutes they were all armed, the four white men with muskets, and the crew with boarding-pikes and cutlasses. At this time, upwards of 200 natives were around the ship. Three canoes came up from the starboard quarter, from one of which the first spear was thrown. A gun was fired over their heads; but this seemed to give them confidence; for, uttering fearful yells, and blowing on war-conches, they pulled up to the ship, with the intention of boarding. The canoes were driven from aft, but they tried to board forward. So determined were they, that some of them climbed up the martingale back-ropes, and were coming in the face of the boarding-pikes and cutlasses, when they were shot down. The pirates, at length, began to retreat, and one or two shots more decided the battle. The victors did not cease firing until the neighbouring village was deserted: they then manned the boat to seek for Mr. Boyd. They went to the village, where a number of natives, concealed in the bush, set up hideous noises. The sailors, going to the beach, found a belt belonging to Mr. Boyd. They searched in vain for the bodies of Mr. Boyd and his attendant, but discovered the wadding of Mr. Boyd's gun; from the situation of which, it seemed that he was attacked as soon as the boat got out of sight of the ship, and was killed after a struggle in the water, as was also his companion. The next morning the whites manned the boat, and went round to the village, to the east of their anchorage. As they approached the shore, about a hundred natives were seen on a hill to the right. The sailors moved up to the village; and, posting a watch on the natives, searched the houses, and then set them on fire. They also laid waste their plantations, and destroyed a couple of canoes. A strict search was made for the remains of Mr. Boyd, but in vain. His crew contented themselves with revenging his memory; it was all that it was in their power to do.

Nearer home, also, a foul indignity had been committed on a British subject. Mr. Erskine Mather reported, that being in Florence on a certain day, a detachment of the infantry regiment, Kuisky, was marching down the Via del Martelli, preceded by its band. He and his brother were walking in the crowd; that he accompanied the soldiers, and was between the band and the troops, when an obstruction was caused, in a narrow part of the street, by a carriage; in consequence of which, Mr. Mather came accidentally in the way of the commander of the detachment, Lieutenant Forsthubers; and he admitted that he might, possibly, have touched the officer, who then gave him a blow with the flat of his sabre. Upon that, he turned round to expostulate, when he received a blow in the face from another officer's fist; and, while staggering in consequence, he was cut at by Lieutenant Forsthubers with his sabre, and wounded so severely that his life was in danger. Mr. Mather was carried to the hospital of Maria Nuova, where, for



some time, he remained in a very precarious state. Reparation being demanded from the Grand Duke of Tuscany by the British government, the duke replied that he ought not to be considered responsible for the outrage, as it had been committed by an Austrian officer. This assurance was, of course, not satisfactory to the English minister, who held that, as the duke called himself an independent sovereign, he was responsible for wrong done to a British subject in his dominions. In many quarters, a suspicion was entertained that the attack on this gentleman was sanctioned by the Austrian authorities, in a spirit of retaliation for the attack made on General Haynau when he visited England.

A long and acrimonious correspondence took place on the subject of compensation. It was, at length, announced that the Tuscan government consented to atone for the outrage by the payment of 1,000 francesconi (about £220). The father of Mr. Mather disdainfully refused to accept such a sum. He was of opinion that it was quite inadequate in a case where the British nation had been insulted by an outrage like that of which his son had had to complain. He had declined to make the affair a personal question; but Lord Malmesbury, having thought it a case in which personal reparation should be made, and asked Mr. Mather's opinion on the point, the latter, taking into consideration the injury done to his son's health; the uncertainty of the future; remembering that the party who did the mischief was the officer of a government which had been implicated by his act; and the probability that an appeal to an impartial court would have procured a large amount of reparation in such a case, named £5,000, as "what appeared to him just and proper, and not over-valuing the injury, and its probable consequences, to his son." From the first, it was said Mr. Mather did not wish to make it an affair of personal consideration. The sum he named was regarded by ministers as enormous. Eventually, the Tuscan government paid an insignificant sum of money; compelled their officer to make an apology to the aggrieved party; restored to life and liberty two young Englishmen, who had been guilty of a political crime in Tuscany, and were, accordingly, sentenced to death.

In parliament, there was some fierce condemnation of the conduct of government in this particular case. "Look," said Lord John Russell, "at the wrong done to Mr. Mather. He stood in the position of a man saying—'My son has suffered a serious injury. I put my case in the hands of my country. I submit my case to my government, to do what they think fit.' And then the Secretary of State, Lord Malmesbury, has no better means of obtaining the redress that is expected, than asking him how much he thinks his son's wound is worth in money, which the noble lord says is tangible; and then, having procured the estimate, he sends it out to Florence, to be published about there, that Mr. Mather is a man who has made an exorbitant demand." Thus Lord Russell contended that the character of Mr. Mather had been injured by the very minister who ought to have undertaken his defence, and obtained redress for him.

Lord Palmerston said he had read the papers relating to Mr. Mather with anything but satisfaction. "I must own," said he, "it seems to me that it was not a comedy, but a tragedy of *All in the Wrong*. I must say, that I find much to criticise in the conduct of almost all the parties concerned, except Mr. Mather and his son. I think the late government took a wrong view of the case. I think, also, the present government took a wrong view of it; and, I am sorry to say, that our *charge d'affaires* at Florence took a wrong view of it too. What is the course which, in the case of a personal outrage upon a British subject abroad—what is the course which I think the British government ought to have pursued? Why, it is the first duty of the government to ascertain clearly the facts of the case—to ascertain clearly the character of the injury which the British subject has sustained, and how far he was in the wrong; or, if not in the wrong, how far those by whom the injury was committed were unjustifiable aggressors. Upon these points it has always been the practice of the Secretary of State to consult the



Queen's Advocate; to lay the facts of the case before him, and to ask him what, according to his view, and his knowledge of the habits of courts of justice in other countries, might be a fit sum to demand for pecuniary compensation; and how far, according to international law, the government would be justified in asking for the punishment of the wrongdoer? That does not appear to have been done by either government in this case. But the first question which arises is, what was the injury inflicted? or, was there any injury inflicted? I think, no man who has read these papers, can hesitate one moment in acknowledging that a grievous injury was committed; that a British subject was exposed to a most violent, a most cowardly outrage, for which no adequate—in fact, no provocation whatever was given. A British subject was accompanying a band of music in the streets of Florence; he was struck, first with a sword by one officer, then with the fist by another, and then, in a cowardly manner, cut down by the sword of the officer who first insulted him. Now, what is the feeling of different countries with regard to an attack by an armed, against an unarmed man? Why, sir, we all know the old anecdote of the English butcher, who, while employed in his avocation, was struck by a man with whom he had words, and whom he reproached with the good old English sentiment—‘Why, what a mean, cowardly fellow you must be to strike a man who has a knife in his hand, and who cannot return the blow.’ That is the English feeling. What is the French feeling? Why, sir, many of us know that there was a distinguished officer in the British service (in the cavalry, Colonel Harvey), who had lost an arm, but who served in the Peninsular war, mutilated as he was. In one action in which he was engaged, he got into the *mêlée*, and a French officer rode up to him with sabre uplifted, and was going to cut him down. But the Frenchman saw that his opponent had only one arm; and, seeing that, he dropped his sabre-point, and passed on to seek an adversary with whom he could do battle on equal terms. That is the French feeling. Then I shall be told that this case is a proof of the Austrian feeling in such matters. I don't believe it is. My conviction is, that the cowardly conduct of the lieutenant who cut down, without provocation, an unarmed British subject, has met with as much disapproval and disavowal on the part of his comrades in Tuscany, as they, in their service, dare show by their conduct towards their officers. I am persuaded, that if Marshal Radetzky had known the true facts of the case at the time when he said the officer was fully justified in what he did, I am fully convinced that such a brave man would have sympathised with Prince Schwartzberg, who, when appealed to by the Earl of Westmoreland, that nobleman saying to him, ‘We are both soldiers; and we, I am sure, never raised our sword against an unarmed man,’ replied, ‘No; such a thing could never have happened to either of us.’ I am persuaded that if Marshal Radetzky had known the truth, he would never have written the despatch which appears among the papers on the table.”

In conclusion, Lord Palmerston pithily put the case thus:—“We demanded payment of a sum of money from the Tuscan government, as a compensation for Mr. Mather. They said, ‘We will give you a sum; but we give it as an act of generosity on our part, denying our responsibility, and denying that, in any similar case, we should be liable to make good the injury done to a British subject.’ I think, if the government were not satisfied with the amount which the Tuscan government offered, the more handy way of dealing with the case would have been to say—‘We take the money in our sense; and, remember, if ever the same thing happens again, we will compel you to give us what we think ample compensation; and we don't care a pin for what you say about non-responsibility; we will make you responsible.’ It might, however, have been better to apply to the stronger power—to Austria, which had garrisoned Tuscany, and whose officer had committed the outrage.”

On behalf of the government, it was contended, by Mr. Disraeli, that the course pursued by Lord Malmesbury was the correct one. He had never lost sight of the principle on which the demand for reparation was made—that an independent state



is responsible for every outrage committed within its territory. What ministers had done was to require that the Tuscan government should acknowledge the principle of their absolute responsibility: and thus the matter dropped.

In Ireland, of course, there were troubles. No matter who are in office, Ireland is always in a state of discontent, and ready for revolt. Numerous assassinations took place. In every case, the difficulty of bringing offenders to justice, whose guilt was of the blackest die (more especially if it were in any way connected with politics), was great in the extreme. It was even supposed that, in the upper classes of society, terror restrained many from furthering the ends of justice. When a special commission was issued, to bring to trial Francis and Owen Kelly, for the murder of Mr. Thomas Bateson, in Monaghan, the evidence most clearly brought the crime home to Francis, who was first tried: but the jury wanted courage to convict; and, after sitting for thirty-six hours, were discharged. The next day he was again put upon his trial, with a similar result. Even while the commission was sitting, a fresh notice of assassination was served on a bailiff; and the parties implicated were discovered and punished: but we are told that generally speaking, the alarm of the jurors was such, that the crown officers did not think it prudent to put any more prisoners on their trial. Clearly, Ireland was in a bad way. How to rule her was a secret not yet mastered by Saxon statesmen.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE ANNUS MIRABILIS.

IN 1851, England learnt two lessons. The marvellous exhibition of the industry of all nations, was an argument utterly impossible to withstand in favour of peace and free trade among all the nations of the earth; and the failure of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill revealed the utter impotence of parliament in religious matters.

Let us take the latter case first.

The pope had heard much of the extension of Roman Catholicism in England. There had been many conversions; and the Puseyites were preparing the ground for many more. It seemed to him that the time had now come to win over England to the true faith. Accordingly, Cardinal Wiseman was despatched hither; and, at the same time, was published a bull, dividing England into sees: in short, doing here what all our missionaries are constantly doing abroad.

The celebrated bull, of which so much has been said, was given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the seal of the fisherman, the 24th of September. It begins with asserting the deep desire ever felt by the Roman pontiffs for the conversion of the world, and especially for the noble kingdom of England; as instances of which, are mentioned the efforts of St. Augustine, and the steps taken by the papal see in consequence of the great schism of the sixteenth century. The cause of apostolic vicars having been appointed to watch over the interests of Catholicism in England by Popes Gregory XV., Urban VIII., Innocent XI., Benedict XIV., and, finally, Gregory XVI., is stated to have been that determined hostility to papal institutions which would not allow of the presence of bishops: but now the times are altered. Pius, the reigning pontiff, considering the present state of Catholicism in England, and the enormous number of persons daily converted, judges the former hindrances to have been removed, and considers the present moment most propitious for the re-establishment of the ancient form of ecclesiastical discipline in England, the church there enjoying free exercise, as in other countries, and no longer requiring the extraordinary mission of apostolic vicars. The earnest desire and petition



of the English apostolic vicars themselves, with many noble and estimable church and laymen, are adduced as an additional motive for the hastening of this measure, which his holiness resolves upon, after having implored the aid of God, the intercession of the blessed virgin and the saints, and the advice of his venerable brethren the cardinals of the sacred propaganda congregation. Then follows the list of the new dioceses. London and its district are to be divided into two—the archbishopric of Westminster, whose occupant will be Catholic Primate of England, and the bishopric of Southwark; the spiritual jurisdiction of the former extending north of the Thames to Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire; whilst that of the latter reaches the southern counties of Berks, South Hants, Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and the Channel Islands. In the provinces, there will be one bishopric in the northern, and one in the York district, the see of the latter being fixed at Beverley. In the Lancashire district there will be two bishops residing—one at Liverpool, and the other at Salford. North Wales will form one bishopric, and South Wales another. In the western district, the Bishop of Clifton will preside over Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire; whilst he of Plymouth will extend his sway over Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall. The sees of Nottingham and Birmingham will flourish in the central district, Oxford coming under the jurisdiction of the latter. Finally, in the eastern district, the Bishop of Northampton will foster the growing spread of the church. “Thus,” in the words of the bull, “there will be one sole ecclesiastical province in the flourishing kingdom of England, formed by a metropolitan archbishop as chief, and twelve bishops as his suffragans, by whose endeavours and pastoral care we trust that God will abundantly amplify the Catholic church.” The document then proceeds to order the new archbishop and bishops to transmit, from time to time, to the propaganda congregation, an account of their spiritual labours and progress; encouraging them with the assurance that they will enjoy, in England, the same rights and faculties as in other Catholic countries—viz., those laid down by the sacred canons and apostolic constitutions; and that they will be bound by the same obligations to the church as other bishops and archbishops. Concerning which point, his holiness, by the fulness of his apostolic authority, expressly does away with, and abrogates, in the next sentence all peculiar customs, whether induced by ancient tradition of English churches, or by the state of the country; since, “*Mutata nunc temporum causa*,” they are now unnecessary and unlawful. Respecting those things which are of doubtful jurisdiction, the archbishop and his bishops are to decide. The pope repeatedly promises to watch over the progress of the whole establishment, and assures the new prelates that they will be no losers by their advancement in a pecuniary point of view, since he shall warmly exhort his beloved children in England to increase the liberality of their contributions, so that the splendour of the temples, the support of the clergy and the poor, as well as other ecclesiastical purposes, may be amply provided for. The bull concludes with invoking the aid of the Almighty, through the intercession of the most holy Mother of God, the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, with the rest of the heavenly patrons of England, and especially St. Gregory the Great.

Never was so great a storm raised about so little a matter; and never did such a mountain bring forth such a mouse. Churchmen were alarmed and terrified beyond description; even dissenters, who ought to have known better, shared in the common and discreditable panic. The angry feelings created by the details published from time to time, caused public meetings to be held all over the country, at which the most furious denunciations were breathed against papal tyranny, and the bitterest censures were levelled against Cardinal Wiseman and the pope.

To avail himself of this rising bigotry, and, by means of it, to strengthen and perpetuate, as he blindly thought, his power, was the aim of Lord John Russell.

His letter to the Bishop of Durham produced an immense effect. It was as follows:—

“My dear Lord,—I agree with you in considering the late aggression of the



pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious; and I therefore feel as indignant as you can upon the subject. I not only promoted, to the utmost of my power, the claims of Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right, and even desirable, that the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London and elsewhere, who, without such help, would have been left in heathen ignorance. This might have been done, however, without any such innovation as we have now seen. It is impossible to confound the recent measures of the pope with the division of Scotland into dioceses, or the arrangement of districts in England by the Wesleyan conference. There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome; a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation. I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation. Even if it shall appear that the ministers and servants of the pope in this country have not transgressed the law, I feel that we are strong enough to repress any outward attacks. The liberty of Protestantism has been allowed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds and consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion—civil, political, and religious. Upon this subject I will only say, then, that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumptions of power deliberately considered. There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our own church, who have subscribed the thirty-nine articles, and acknowledged, in implicit terms, the queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice. The honour paid to saints—the claim of infallibility for the church—the superstitious use of the sign of the cross—the muttering of the liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written—the recommendation of auricular confession—and the administration of penance and absolution;—all these things are pointed out, by clergymen of the church of England, as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince, of no great power, compared to the danger, within the gates, from the unworthy sons of the church of England herself? I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their invidious course: but I rely with confidence on the people of England; and I will not bate a jot of heart or life so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation, which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul.—I remain, with great respect, &c.

“Downing Street, Nov. 4th.

“J. RUSSELL.”

Lord John Russell, as soon as parliament met, proposed his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; or, rather, a bill to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom. It consisted of four sections, re-enacting that clause in the Catholic Relief Act which forbids the assumption of ecclesiastical titles identical with those of the established churches of England and Ireland (a provision which had not been violated), and extending the prohibition to titles derived from any other place in the United Kingdom; enforcing the prohibition by a penalty of £100; and declaring forfeit to the crown, property left in trust to persons using these forbidden distinctions. The first reading was carried, after four nights' debating, by a majority of 332 (395 for; 63 against); but of this immense majority, there was scarcely one who did not object to the measure, as paltry and inefficient. In the course of the debate,



Viscount Palmerston confessed, that since he had had a seat in that House, he had never listened to discussions with greater pain than to that upon which the House was now engaged. He had hoped that those angry discussions and controversies concerning doctrinal points, and of Catholics and dissenters, would never again be heard within the walls of parliament; for he declared that the principles that had been established were not the principles of toleration merely, but the greater principle of religious freedom, which was so perfectly identified with the institutions of the country, that he had hoped no more of such discussions would be heard within these walls. But whose fault was it? It was not ours; but we had been forced upon it by an act of aggression from a foreign authority, an aggression of a political character; and in that respect only would he address himself to the question—an aggression upon the independent sovereign of this country, which he thought it was their bounden duty to repel. (Hear, hear.) People said it was partly the fault of members of the government that certain indulgences had been shown to the Catholic episcopacy of Ireland; that courtesies had been shown to the clergy and priesthood of Ireland; that opinions had been expressed in debates in parliament; that silence was observed by a noble friend of his three years ago at Rome, when a supposed paper was said to have been shown him which regarded England: and from these things, it was said, they had no right to be surprised at what the pope had done, because he had a right to expect that they would meet it with indifference. He denied that any of these grounds were sufficient to justify the measures which had been adopted. Either the pope thought the measures he proposed would not be agreeable, or not disagreeable, to the government and the people of this country, or he did not care whether they were agreeable to the government and the people of England. If he attached any value to the effect of his measures in this country, why did he not, in the three years that had elapsed between the period of the alleged conversation with his noble friend at Rome, take steps to ascertain that? Where was Dr. Wiseman? Was he not in England? Had he not an opportunity of having personal intercourse with his noble friend at the head of the government, and ascertaining whether the measure which the pope contemplated would, or would not, give offence to the government and the people of this country? And therefore, he contended, that as that course of proceeding was studiously avoided, it was impossible for the papal authorities, or for those who advocated their cause, to shelter themselves under the pretext that things had taken place which justified the papal government in supposing that the steps taken would not be offensive to the people of England. Well, then, this being an aggression of a foreign authority, what was the authority by which that aggression was made? It was an authority of an ecclesiastical nature, which had a double action upon the minds of men. (Hear.) The characteristic of the Catholic church was—not as contradistinguished to, but in accordance with, the character of all other churches—a perpetual attempt to encroach upon the temporal power, and to mix itself up with temporal government. He did not acquit other churches of the same thing. Churches were corporate bodies, and corporate bodies were naturally progressive. But there was this difference between the Roman Catholic church and the British church—that the British church began and ended in the realm of England, while the church of Rome endeavoured to spread its authority in a circle, ever-widening, all over the Christian world. Well, then, what was the action, the temporal and political action, of that church? Look to those countries in which the Catholic church was predominant. Look to Portugal, to Spain, to Italy—look, he was concerned to say, also to Austria—and they would find, that wherever the Catholic church was allowed to seize hold of temporal authority, its influence was painfully exerted in suppressing the political power and privileges of the people. His lordship then referred to the recent agitation on the subject, describing it as a great movement of the Protestant people of England. With respect to the suggestions of the last speaker, he (Lord Palmerston) thought it would have been unbecoming in this



country to meet an act of unprovoked aggression by sending an envoy to sue for conditions at Rome. He thought the dignified and proper course for the country to take was to legislate for themselves. He denied that the bill was a penal act—it was merely a complement of the act of 1829. It would be no restriction on the Catholic hierarchy, which would interfere with their sacred duties; and whilst it would not be inoperative, it would be adequate to the circumstances of the case.

The fates were against the bill, however. Before its second reading Lord John Russell had resigned, and been again installed in office; and three out of the four clauses of the bill had disappeared. It was not till the middle of May that the bill got into committee, where it was resisted, word by word; and no less than thirty-five divisions were taken. Finally, the third reading was carried by accident, and by a large majority, from which, however, the names of Gladstone and some of the best men in the House were absent.

Nor were the Catholics inactive; nor did they labour in vain. Almost immediately after the publication of Lord John Russell's letter, Dr. Wiseman published his promised appeal to "the manly sense and honest heart of a generous people." The document is one of great length.

The cardinal commenced with a review of the history of the Catholic church in England during the last hundred years, under the government of vicars apostolic—that is, as bishops with foreign titles, having jurisdiction as the delegates of the pope.

The only constitution possessed by the English Catholics, up to the year 1847, was one issued as far back as 1743, by Pope Benedict XIV., which had grown obsolete by lapse of time, and change of circumstance. At the latter time, for instance, the penal laws had been repealed; English colleges for the home education of the priesthood were sanctioned; religious houses founded, and churches or chapels much increased. In fact—

"The Catholic church in England had so much expanded and consolidated itself since the Emancipation Act, and its parts had so matured their mutual relations, that it could not be carried on without a full and explicit code." A remedy was therefore prayed for; and it was suggested that it could only be in one of the two following forms:—

"Either the holy see must issue another and full constitution, which would supply all wants; but which would be necessarily complicated and voluminous, and, as a special provision, would necessarily be temporary:

"Or, the real and complete code of the church must be at once extended to the Catholic church in England, so far as compatible with its social position: and this provision would be final.

"But, in order to adopt this second and more natural expedient, one condition was necessary, and that was—the Catholics must have a hierarchy. The canon law is inapplicable under vicars apostolic; and, besides, many points would have to be synodically adjusted; and without a metropolitan and suffragans, a provincial synod was out of the question.

"Such was the main and solid ground on which the hierarchy was humbly solicited by Catholics from the holy see. It was one that referred to their own internal organisation exclusively. Thoughts of aggression never entered the heads of the petitioners or of the petitioned; nor were the bishops moved by stupid ideas of rivalry with the established church in what forms its weakness, nor any absurd defiance of national prejudices. They knew that they violated no law in asking for what was needful for their religious existence, and they acted on an acknowledged right of liberty of conscience."

Other motives of a secondary nature existed; but this was the chief, and the holy see kindly listened to the petition. The inferences drawn from this historical review are two: first, that the act is not sudden, wanton, or aggressive in its character; and secondly, that the blame, if any, rests not with his holiness—



"the best, and here the most calumniated, of men"—but with Dr. Wiseman and his colleagues.

The cardinal thus described the unparalleled agitation which the constitution of a Catholic hierarchy in this island has raised:—

"Its violence has been that of a whirlwind, during which it would have been almost folly to claim a hearing. After the news reached England of the measure being completed, a pause of a few days ensued, as if the elements were brewing for the storm. Then it burst out with absolute fury; every newspaper (with a few honourable exceptions) seemed to vie with its neighbour, of the most opposite politics and principles, in the acrimony, virulence, and perseverance of its attacks. Liberal and Conservative, Anglican or dissenting, grave or light, as their usual tone and character might previously have been, the energies of all seemed concentrated upon one single point—that of crushing, if possible, or denouncing, at least to public execration, the new form of ecclesiastical government, which Catholics regarded as a blessing and an honour. For this purpose, nothing was refused, however unfounded, however personal, even by papers whose ordinary tone is courteous, or at least well-bred. Anecdotes without a particle of truth, or, what is worse, with some particles of distorted truth in them, have been copied from one into another, and most widely circulated. Sarcasm, ridicule, satire of the broadest character, theological and legal reasonings of the most refined nature, bold and reckless declamation, earnest and artful argument—nothing seemed to come amiss; and every invocable agency, from the Attorney-general to Guy Fawkes, from *præmunire* to a hustling, was summoned forth to aid the cry, and administer to the vengeance of those who raised it."

An excitement, somewhat similar, was caused, some years ago, by the increased grant to Maynooth; but the tide of popular feeling was then nobly stemmed by a great statesman. In striking contrast with the conduct of Sir R. Peel, the then head of her majesty's government astonished Europe by a letter, which left but little hope that any appeal to the high authority which rules over the empire would be received with favour. A still graver power in the state, too, has allowed itself to be swayed from its impartiality. The Lord High Chancellor of England has delivered "his award against us from behind the tables of a Mansion-house banquet."

The avenues to public justice thus closed up, and the press, too, having raised its "death-whoop," the cardinal's trust is in the "love of honourable dealing and fair play, which, in joke or in earnest, is equally the instinct of an Englishman."

After this point the appeal is divided into sections, the first of which treats of royal supremacy. By the "supremacy" of the sovereign is meant the headship of church in ecclesiastical and spiritual matters, as well as in civil and temporal. This the Roman Catholic has always denied. Down to 1829 his denial subjected him to disabilities; but the Emancipation Act freed him from all obligation of acknowledging the "royal ecclesiastical supremacy," the belief in which was purposely excluded from the oath of allegiance framed for him.

"A Catholic, therefore, before 1829, in the eye of the law, was a person who did not admit the royal supremacy, and, therefore, was excluded from full enjoyment of civil privileges. A Catholic after 1829, and therefore in 1850, is a person who still continues not to admit the royal supremacy, and nevertheless is admitted to full enjoyment of those privileges."

In denying the royal supremacy, the Catholic is in the same category as the Scotch kirk and the English dissenters, who equally fail to recognise in the bishops appointed by the queen any authority to teach or rule them.

"When, therefore, the sovereign appoints a new bishop to a see, the Catholic, and I suppose the dissenter, divides the act between two distinct powers. As sovereign, and as a dispenser of dignities, the king or queen bestows on the person elected dignity, rank, and wealth. He is made a lord of parliament; receives a designation and title; becomes seised of certain properties which entitle him to



finer, rents, and fees. To all this they assent. They may protest; but they do not refuse the honours due to one whom the king is pleased to honour. The title is accorded, be it 'his lordship' or 'his grace'; his peerage is admitted, with all its consequent distinctions, and his fines and fees are paid as to any other landlord.

"But further, in virtue of the spiritual supremacy, the same sovereign confers on that person spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and this, in fact, is acknowledged only by those who are members of the church of England. Thus, if, in virtue of this commission, the bishop publicly teaches or denies, as the case may be, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, a Catholic no more heeds his teaching than he does that of a dissenting minister. If he comes into a town, and invites all to come and be confirmed by him on a given day, no Catholic takes more notice of the call than he does of the parish beadle's notices, among which it is fastened on the church door. If he appoints a triennial visitation for correction of abuses and hearing of complaints, no Catholic troubles himself about his coming. And what the Catholic does in regard to these functions of an Anglican bishop, the Independent does just as much.

"It follows that a marked distinction exists between the authority possessed by a bishop and that of any other functionary named by the queen's excellent majesty. If she appoint an admiral, or commander-in-chief, or governor of a colony, or judge, every one is bound to obey that person in all that belongs specifically to his office, and any one would be punishable if he refused. But in regard to a bishop it is exactly the contrary. Precisely in those very matters which appertain to his office we are not bound to obey him. No one is obliged to seek doctrine from his teaching, sanctification from his ministration, or grace from his blessing. This anomalous difference arises from the circumstance that the commission given to civil and military officers flows from the temporal sovereignty, which none may impugn; while that to the ecclesiastical functionaries proceeds from the spiritual jurisdiction, which may be, and is, lawfully denied.

"When a dissenter denies the royal supremacy (always meaning by this term the spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction attributed to the crown), he substitutes, perhaps, for it some other authority in some synod or conference, or he admits of none other to take its place; but when the Catholic denies it, it is because he believes another and a true ecclesiastical and spiritual supremacy to reside in the pope, or bishop of Rome, over the entire Catholic church. With him the two acts resolve themselves into one—denial of the royal supremacy, and assertion of the papal supremacy. And as it is perfectly lawful for him to deny the one, so it is equally lawful for him to assert the other."

In support of this position Dr. Wiseman quotes a judgment delivered by Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, in the House of Lords, May 11th, 1846.

The second section considers—"What was the extent of religious toleration granted to Catholics? Have they a right to possess bishops or a hierarchy?"

Catholic emancipation was deemed an act of justice, conferring full religious liberty. But the full exercise of the Catholic religion could not be enjoyed without holy orders, and holy orders require bishops to administer them. Hence the Catholic church is necessarily episcopal. This government by bishops may be of two kinds—the ordinary form of a local hierarchy, and the temporary expedient of vicars. The former is the only "full and perfect" form; and a toleration that disallows this is really a "denial of liberty of conscience." The Emancipation Act contained no such restriction. Nay, more—it foresaw and provided for the substitution, some day, of regular bishops for vicars. First, the declaration of Lord Lyndhurst shows this to have been the spirit of the legislation; and, secondly, the actual restrictions imposed by the Relief Act, implied that, on this point, there was liberty:—

"There is an axiom in law, '*Exclusio unius est admissio alterius*;' that is, if you specifically exclude or deny the use of one particular thing, you thereby admit the lawful use of that which is not denied. To take the instance above



given; if I had said, in my agreement with the householder, that he might not, in building, make any use of sandstone, this would have implied that he might employ granite or limestone, or any other stone but the one excluded. Now, if the law of emancipation did make one exclusion and prohibition respecting the titles of Catholic bishops, it thereby permitted, as perfectly within law, whatever in that respect came not under that exception. The Act of Emancipation forbids any one from assuming or using the style or title of any bishopric or archbishopric of the established church in England or Ireland. From this it follows that they are allowed to assume any other titles."

The third section inquires—"How could Catholics obtain their hierarchy?" And contends that if the Catholics were ever to have a hierarchy, it could only be through the pope, and the pope could only legislate by a bull.

"Lord John Russell, in his speech in the House of Commons, August 6th, 1846, thus sensibly speaks on the subject:—"There is another offence, of introducing a bull of the pope into the country. The question is, whether it is desirable to keep up that or any other penalty for such an offence. It does not appear to me that we can possibly attempt to prevent the introduction of the pope's bulls into this country. There are certain bulls of the pope which are absolutely necessary for the appointment of bishops and pastors belonging to the Roman Catholic church. It would be quite impossible to prevent the introduction of such bulls."

Next comes the question—

IV. "Does the appointment of the Catholic hierarchy trench on the prerogative of the crown?"

This is described as a "delicate question," the more so from the address signed by the English bar, which says that—

"A foreign potentate has interfered with her majesty's undoubted prerogative, and has assumed the right of nominating archbishops and bishops in these realms, and of conferring on them territorial rank and jurisdiction."

There is gravity in such a statement coming from men "learned in the law." But, the cardinal argues, to speak so is "to recognise an efficient act of power" on the part of the pope. To those who do not acknowledge his authority, his "ecclesiastical acts are mere nullities." "It is (to them) as though the pope had not spoken, and had not issued any document."

"It will be said that no limitation of jurisdiction is made in the papal document—no restriction of its exercise to Catholics; and hence Lord John Russell and others conclude that there is, in this brief, 'a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway.'" Every official document has its proper forms; and had those who blame the tenor of this, taken any pains to examine those of papal documents, they would have found nothing new or unusual in this. Whether the pope appoints a person vicar apostolic or bishop in ordinary, in either case he assigns him a territorial ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and gives him no personal limitations. This is the practice of every church which believes in its own truth and in its duty of conversion. What has been done in this brief has been done in every one ever issued, whether to create a hierarchy or to appoint a bishop.

V. "Has the mode of establishing the hierarchy been 'isolent and insidious?'"

The argument under this section consists of a reference to ministerial acts, by which Catholic bishops have been recognised in the British colonies, as affording no reason to anticipate that the erection of an English episcopate would occasion offence; to the conduct of the English government in erecting bishoprics abroad, as at Jerusalem; and to "the positive declarations and public appearances" of the present and former administrations.

Under the last head the speeches of Lord John Russell are specially alluded to. In the debate on the Catholic Relief Bill, July 9th, 1845, Lord John Russell, then in opposition, spoke to the following effect:—

"He, for one, was prepared to go into committee on those clauses of the



act of 1829. He did not say that he was at once prepared to repeal all those clauses, but he was willing to go into committee to deliberate on the subject. He believed that they might repeal those disallowing clauses, which prevented a Roman Catholic bishop assuming a title held by a bishop of the established church. He could not conceive any good ground for the continuance of this restriction." It must be observed that there is nothing in the context which limits those sensible and liberal words to Ireland. They apply to the repeal of the whole clause, which, as we have seen, extends equally to both countries.

"What his lordship had said in 1845, he deliberately, and even more strongly, confirmed the following year. In the debate on the first reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, February 5th, 1845, he referred to his speech, just quoted, of the preceding session, in the following terms:—

"Allusion having been made to him (by Sir R. Inglis), he wished to say a few words as to his former declaration, 'that he was not ready at once to repeal these laws without consideration.' Last session he had voted for the committee, but had reserved to himself the right of weighing the details. It appeared to him that there was one part of the question that had not been sufficiently attended to: the measure of government, as far as it was stated last year, did not effect that relief to the Roman Catholics from a law by which they were punished, both for assuming episcopal titles in Ireland, and for belonging to certain religious orders. That part of the subject required interference by the legislature. As to preventing persons assuming particular titles, nothing could be more absurd and puerile than to keep up such a distinction. He had also the strongest objection to the law which made Jesuits in certain cases subject to transportation; the enactment was as intolerant as it was inefficacious, and it was necessary that the law should be put on an intelligible and rational footing."

Dr. Wiseman re-asserted that a copy of the papal brief was shown to Lord Minto in Italy:—

"The circumstances may have escaped his memory, or he may not at the time have attended to it, having more important matters in his mind; but as to the fact that his attention was called to it, and he made no reply, I can have no doubt."

The sixth and concluding section treats of the title of Westminster.

According to the discipline of the Catholic church, sees must take their titles from cities or towns, not districts. In re-establishing a Catholic hierarchy, it was natural that the metropolitan should take his title from the metropolis. But London was a title inhibited by law. Southwark was to form a separate see. To have borrowed a title from Islington or Finsbury would have invited ridicule. Besides, they were not towns. Hence the selection of "Westminster."

"But I am glad, also, for another reason. The chapter of Westminster has been the first to protest against the new archiepiscopal title, as though some practical attempt at jurisdiction within the abbey was intended. Then let me give them assurance on that point, and let us come to a fair decision and a good understanding.

"The diocese, indeed, of Westminster embraces a large district; but Westminster proper consists of two very different parts. One comprises the stately abbey, with its adjacent palaces, and its royal parks. To this portion the duties and occupation of the dean and chapter are mainly confined; and they shall range there undisturbed. To the venerable old church I may repair, as I have been wont to do. But perhaps the dean and chapter are not aware that, were I disposed to claim more than the right to tread the Catholic pavement of that noble building, and breathe its air of ancient consecration, another might step in with a prior claim. For successive generations there has existed ever, in the Benedictine order, an abbot of Westminster, the representative, in religious dignity, of those who erected, and beautified, and governed that church and cloister. Have they ever been disturbed by this 'titular?' Have they ever heard of any claim or protest, on his



part, touching their temporalities? Then let them fear no greater aggression now. Like him, I may visit, as I have said, the old abbey, and say my prayer by the shrine of good St. Edward, and meditate on the olden times, when the church filled without a coronation, and multitudes hourly worshipped without a service.

"But in their temporal rights, or their quiet possession of any dignity or title, they will not suffer. Whenever I go in I will pay my entrance-fee, like other liege subjects, and resign myself meekly to the guidance of the beadle, and listen without rebuke when he points out to my admiration detestable monuments, or shows me a hole in the wall for a confessional.

"Yet this splendid monument, its treasures of art, and its fitting endowments, form not the part of Westminster which will concern me. For there is another part which stands in frightful contrast, though in immediate contact, with this magnificence. In ancient times, the existence of an abbey on any spot, with a large staff of clergy and ample revenues, would have sufficed to create around it a little paradise of comfort, cheerfulness, and ease. This, however, is not now the case. Close under the abbey of Westminster, there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, and alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity, and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness, and disease; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera; in which swarms a huge and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally, at least, Catholics; haunts of filth which no sewerage committee can reach—dark corners which no lighting board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which alone I covet, and which I shall be glad to claim and to visit as a blessed pasture in which sheep of holy church are to be tended, in which a bishop's godly work has to be done, of consoling, converting, and preserving. And if, as I humbly trust in God, it shall be seen that this special culture, arising from the establishment of our hierarchy, bears fruits of order, peacefulness, decency, religion, and virtue, it may be that the holy see shall not be thought to have acted unwisely when it bound up the very soul and salvation of a chief pastor with those of a city where the name indeed is glorious, but the purloins infamous; in which the very grandeur of its public edifices is as a shadow to screen from the public eye sin and misery the most appalling. If the wealth of the abbey be stagnant and not diffusive, if it in no way rescue the neighbouring population from the depths in which it is sunk, let there be no jealousy of any one who, by whatever name, is ready to make the latter his care without interfering with the former."

Some caustic remarks upon the Anglican clergy, and thanks to the "noble-hearted people" who have refused to join in the "no-popery" cry, and to the "docile and obedient children of the Catholic faith," who have been meek amidst reviling, closed the lengthy document.

We proceed now to speak of the memorable Exhibition—an Exhibition which, according to Colonel Sibthorpe, was to overrun London with foreigners, and fill the land with plagues.

The fairy building, as we all know, was erected by Messrs. Fox and Henderson, from the design of Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Paxton, gardener to the Duke of Devonshire. It was opened on May 1st, and closed October 15th. Its extreme length was 1,851 feet; the width 408, with an additional projection on the north side, 936 feet long, by 48 wide. The central portion was 120 feet wide, by 64 feet high: on either side of this was another portion, 72 feet wide, by 44 high; and the north and south portions were 72 feet wide, by 24 feet high. The entire area was 772,784 square feet, or about 19 acres, nearly seven times as much as St. Paul's Cathedral. The entire ground-area was divided off into a central nave, four side aisles, and several exhibitors' courts and avenues. There were three entrances, with eight pay-places to each, and eighteen doors for exit. There were four galleries running lengthwise of the building, and others around the transept; and access was gained to these galleries by ten double staircases. Of iron columns there were about 3,300 in the building; and there were 1,074 base-pieces beneath



the columns, on which the whole structure rested. The girders were nearly 3,500; and, altogether, there were about 4,000 tons of iron built into the structure. Besides the seventeen acres of glass for the roof, there were about 15,000 vertical glazed sashes. The ground-floor and the galleries contained 1,000,000 square feet of flooring. There were 200 miles of sash-bars, and twenty miles of Paxton gutters. The total wood-work in the structure was estimated at 600,000 cubic feet.

In the building, 2,182 persons were employed; but in this list are not included the workmen employed by Fox and Henderson, nor the persons connected with the catalogue department, nor the extra police employed outside the building. About eighty persons were in the building all night—viz., fifty policemen, twenty-four sappers and miners, and six firemen: the latter had the command of an abundant supply of fire-engines, hydrants, and buckets. The sweepers were employed six hours in the morning, sweeping the building before the visitors arrived. There was no end of committees, beginning with the twenty-five royal commissioners, with Prince Albert at their head. There was an executive committee, a finance committee, a building committee, a medal committee, a committee to communicate with the local committees; and then there were committees of sections, to determine on regulations for the classification and admission of specimens. These seventy-three committee-men comprised nearly all the royal commissioners, and a fine array of the most talented men in the country.

It appears that there were about 15,000 exhibitors; and how to reduce the goods exhibited into something like order was an Herculean task. Dr. Lyon Playfair's classification of the objects admitted, was, perhaps, the most elaborate analysis of industrial and productive art that has yet been made. There was not the formality of classes, orders, genera, species, &c., as in natural history; but there was a somewhat analogous subordination adopted. There were, in the first place, four great sections, devoted to Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufactures, and the Fine Arts. The first of these was subdivided into four; the second into six; and the third into nineteen; so that the whole made twenty-nine classes. These classes were then subdivided into (on an average) about eight portions each; there being 251 portions, each designated in its own class by a letter of the alphabet. Each portion, or letter, was next subdivided into smaller sections, designated by numerals; and these smaller portions were, lastly, subdivided into species, minute enough to need no further classification. For instance, *Section 3* comprised Manufactures; one *class* of this was devoted to manufactures in animal and vegetable substances; the letter A of this class was manufactures in caoutchouc. No. 1 under this letter was impermeable articles (as distinguished from elastic); and particular species under this numeral are boots, beds, life-buoys, air-cushions, &c. In the final analysis, there were not much less than 2,000 headings, under which products were classified in this remarkable list. The jury council, in their report to the royal commissioners, said that the duties of the jurors had involved the consideration and judgment of at least a million articles.

Nor must we overlook the difficulties connected with the preparation of the *Official Catalogue*. The contractors were dependent, not simply on one, or a dozen, or a hundred persons, but on 15,000, or more, all of whom had to supply the materials with which the catalogue was to be constructed. So overwhelming were the obstructions to be surmounted by the compilers and printers, that at ten o'clock at night, on the 30th of April, within fourteen hours of the opening of this splendid pageant, not a single complete copy was printed.

The Exhibition was open twenty-three weeks, and fragments of two other weeks. The total visitors were 6,007,944. Mean daily average, 43,536. Besides the above, there were the six exceptional days, if we may so term the opening day, the two days at £1, the two exhibitors' days, and the closing day: these gave an aggregate of about 160,000 visitors. The total was thus, in round numbers, 6,170,000, or about 43,000 per day, for 144 days.



The different days of the week had some peculiar characteristics. Monday was, as it always is, the great day for London shopkeepers and operatives of the humbler class: on no other day did visitors of this rank congregate so largely at the Crystal Palace.

Tuesday was the great day for country visitors. The Monday's excursion-trains brought them up by thousands; and after a good night's rest, they were ready for the Hyde Park campaign on the morrow.

Wednesday was the quietest and least numerically strong of the shilling days: the high pressure of Monday and Tuesday seems to have led to a kind of exhaustion on the following day. This was the most satisfactory of the shilling days to those who wished to proceed systematically with their visits.

Thursday being the last shilling day of the week, numbered higher than Wednesday; while the visitors were generally of a somewhat higher grade than those of Monday and Tuesday.

Friday was the favourite day for those who wished to see everything, and to see it well, and who also thought half-a-crown well bestowed on a visit. It was the special day for season-ticket holders, of the scientific, or professional, or business turn of mind.

Saturday was the day for satin *visites* and trailing dresses, and Erard's piano, and *eau de Cologne*, and *aqua d'oro*, and Bath chairs. These Bath chairs were not the least among the curiosities of the Exhibition; never before did invalids have such a privilege of being wheeled along aisles and naves, and galleries thronged with the beautiful and the wonderful, with comfort to themselves, and with scarcely a shade of discomfort to others. Those who were present on the 4th of October, the last Bath chair day, will well remember what a formidable array of these vehicles made their appearance.

Never before, in any age or country, was such a sight presented as that at two o'clock on October 7th, when 93,000 persons were estimated to have been under one roof at one time; not merely in an open area, like a Roman amphitheatre, but in a windowed, and floored, and roofed building. The greatest number who entered the doors in any one hour, was between eleven and twelve o'clock on the 6th of October, when 28,853 persons were admitted.

The total receipts, from all sources, made up half a million sterling, as follows:—

Subscriptions	...	...	...	...	...	£67,000
Season tickets	...	...	...	...	...	68,000
Single admissions	...	...	...	...	...	337,000
Refreshment contract	...	...	...	...	...	5,500
Catalogue contract	...	...	...	...	...	3,200
Royalty on medals	...	...	...	...	...	900
Washing, retiring, and umbrella rooms	...	...	...	...	...	3,700

On the last shilling Monday, the silver coin received at the doors required two cabs to convey it to the bank: it weighed nearly 15 cwt.

There were 166 council medals, 2,876 prize medals, and 2,042 honourable mentions; making a total of 5,084 honorary distinctions of all kinds. If we take the exhibitors at the estimated number of 15,000, about one-third were thus deemed worthy of some kind of recognition. Of the total number, 2,039 were absorbed by the United Kingdom, and 3,045 by foreign exhibitors. Our foreign guests occupied about two-fifths of the space, and took off three-fifths of the honours. The greatly-coveted council medals were awarded in the ratio of seventy-nine to British, and eighty-seven to foreign exhibitors; the prize medals, 1,244 British, and 1,632 foreign; the honourable mentions, 716 British, and 1,326 foreign.

In relation to different classes of exhibited articles there were a few striking and instructive facts. In machinery, in manufactures, in metal, and in glass and



porcelain manufactures, the British exhibitors gained more prizes than all the foreigners combined. In textile fabrics, in fine arts, and in miscellaneous manufactures, the foreign exhibitors took off the honours in the ratio of about three-fifths to two-fifths British. But in the section of raw materials for food and manufactures, the foreign exhibitors gained nearly four times as many prizes as the British. It would appear from that that Britain is a manufacturing, and not a producing country. Be this as it may, the fact here stated is worth remembering.

The great honours of the council medals were very unequally distributed in respect to the class of exhibited articles; for out of the whole number of 166, no less than eighty-eight (more than one-half) were awarded for machinery alone. This is a significant fact, showing that the juries, or rather the council of chairmen, were not deterred, by the gorgeous display around them, from doing justice to the great working agencies by which wealth is produced.

The post-office arrangements were excellent. There was a regular post establishment within the building, in connection with all the separate departments, British and foreign. The daily despatch of letters averaged 500, and the daily receipt, 300.

The losing of personal property in the Exhibition, the finding of the lost articles by the police, and the plan for restoring them to their proper owners, form a curious chapter in the history of the Crystal Palace.

The total number of articles thus suddenly deprived of owners was enormous. In the two months from May 1st to June 30th, they amounted to upwards of 1,000. Pocket-handkerchiefs took the lead, to the number of 271; parasols were 118; bracelets, brooches, and shawl-pins together, made up 255; veils and falls, and neck-ties, and bonnet-shades, figured at 94; ladies' cuffs, and gloves, and goloshes numbered together 39; shawls and victorines were 30. The minor articles, or articles in smaller number, were most miscellaneous, and combined every imaginable thing which could reasonably be taken to an exhibition—umbrellas, shirt-studs, catalogues, books, bunches of keys, lockets, camp-stools, slippers, great-coats, card-cases, chains, knives, pin-cushions, walking-sticks, spectacles, eye-glasses, opera-glasses, pencil-cases, rings, fans, watches, toothpicks, thimbles, reticules, baskets, boxes, scent-bottles, &c. Purses were not wanting to fill up the inventory, containing sums varying from £0 0s. 0d., to £5 4s. 9d.; while the sum of £2 10s. 0½d. was picked up in loose coins. One of the articles secured by the police, and made to figure in their report, must ever take rank among the marvels of the Great Exhibition—it was one petticoat! Pope says of flies in amber—

“The things themselves are neither rich nor rare;  
The wonder’s, how the devil they got there.”

And so we may say of this particular garment, under the circumstances. A second and a third list of the same kind was made public. The final list of totals, brought down to October 24th, figured at 5,167; of which 3,318 were still waiting for claimants—materials here for supplying a tolerably good store. It is said, no less than 1,849 lost articles were recovered by application to the police, whose admirable conduct in and around the building was above all praise. Nor were lifeless things the only ones that went astray. Many a luckless child got separated from its parents in the vast building; but the police-station at Prince’s Gate became an asylum for the little wanderers, the whole of whom were ultimately restored to their proper quarters.

In this Exhibition, the mere supply of refreshments assumed a character of immense magnitude—a magnitude that ceases to astonish us now, but which was thought very astonishing then. Not only was the sum of £5,500 given for permission to sell refreshments within the building, but the contractors candidly acknowledged that they made large profits by the venture. The central refresh-



ment court was farmed by, or leased by, one firm; the eastern and western courts by another. In round numbers, their sales were as follows:—

Bread ... ..	52,000	quarterns.
Small loaves, rolls, and biscuits ... ..	120,000	
Plain buns ... ..	870,000	
Bath buns ... ..	930,000	
Banbury and other cakes ... ..	220,000	
Cake, sold per pound ... ..	50,000	lbs.
Meat patties and rolls ... ..	80,000	
Ham ... ..	70,000	lbs.
Beef, tongue, &c. ... ..	260,000	„
Rough ice ... ..	800,000	„
Salt ... ..	80,000	„
Milk and cream ... ..	65,000	quarts.
Tea, coffee, and chocolate ... ..	21,000	lbs.
Lemonade, soda-water, ginger-beer ... ..	1,090,000	bottles.

These enormous quantities were not consumed wholly by the visitors; there was an exhibitors' dining-room, where sometimes 2,000 cold dinners were disposed of in a day.

The amount of money taken for these eatables and drinkables is an item of statistics on which no information was afforded; and a guess would be of little value, except from one who is professionally cognizant how many sixpenny cups of coffee may be made from a pound of the berry, or how many sandwiches may be carved out of a pound of ham. One little fact, however, may give the reader an idea of the large sums taken in the refreshment department. It appears that buns, with ginger-beer, and similar bottled liquids, brought a round sum of £30,000. If the reader reckons other articles in a similar proportion, he can easily understand how the contractors lost little by their payment of £5,500 for the privilege of serving refreshments.

All were fascinated with the Exhibition of 1851. There never was such an exhibition, and there never can be such another: that of 1862 was nothing like it. It differed as much from that of 1851 as moonlight from sunlight, or as water from wine. Banquets were the order of the day. The foreign commissioners dined at Richmond, Lord Ashburton in the chair. A grand entertainment was held at the Guildhall in celebration of it. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert honoured the city of London with their presence on the occasion. The line of her majesty's approach, from the palace to the Guildhall, was brilliantly illuminated. All things pointed to peace and friendship. The orators of the human race met, and declared that the millennium was about to come. France and England were connected by the telegraphic cable. A peace congress sat at Exeter Hall. Females made their appearance in the Bloomer costume. A grand banquet was given at Bangor, in honour of Mr. R. Stephenson, M.P., the eminent engineer, on the completion of the Britannia Tubular Bridge; and, as if to show that the New World was getting ready to compete with the Old, at the Cowes regatta, in the match round the Isle of Wight, for a cup worth £100, open to all nations, an American yacht, the *America*, schooner-built, of 173 tons, started last, and came in first, by nearly eight miles. So philanthropic, indeed, had the country become, that, in the House of Commons, Mr. Cobden's motion for disarmament between France and England received the sanction of the government. Lord Palmerston confessed himself ready to subscribe to Mr. Cobden's views on this subject, but objected to the motion, because it aimed at divesting this country of her means of defence, without waiting till other countries had placed themselves in a similar position. And thus, amidst universal approval, the motion was withdrawn. Nevertheless, all England was jubilant and holiday-making, this wonderful year of 1851. What the people felt and thought is, however, best told in Thackeray's



"May-day Ode," which appeared on the opening of the Exhibition, and in which it was felt that, like the poet, he had set to music the spirit of the age. We reprint it, as a fitting close to this chapter.

## MAY-DAY ODE.

"But yesterday a naked sod,  
The dandies sneered from Rotten-row,  
And cantered o'er it to and fro;  
And see, 'tis done!  
As though 'twere by a wizard's rod,  
A blazing arch of lucid glass  
Leaps like a fountain from the grass  
To meet the sun!

"A quiet green but few days since,  
With cattle browsing in the shade,  
And lo! long lines of bright arcade  
In order raised;  
A palace as for fairy prince,  
A rare pavilion, such as man  
Saw never, since mankind began,  
And built and glazed.

"A peaceful place it was but now,  
And lo! within its shining streets  
A multitude of nations meets:  
A countless throng,  
I see beneath the crystal bow,  
And Gaul and German, Russ and Turk,  
Each with his native handiwork  
And busy tongue.

"I felt a thrill of love and awe  
To mark the different garb of each,  
The changing tongue, the various speech  
Together blent.  
A thrill, methinks, like His who saw  
'All people dwelling upon earth,  
Praising our God with solemn mirth,  
And one consent.'

"High sovereign in your royal state!  
Captains, and chiefs, and councillors,  
Before the lofty palace doors  
Are open set,  
Hush! ere you pass the shining gate;  
Hush! ere the heaving curtain draws,  
And let the royal pageant pause  
A moment yet.

"People and prince a silence keep!  
Bow coronet and kingly crown,  
Helmet and plume bow lowly down:  
The while the priest  
Before the splendid portal step,  
While still the wondrous banquet stays,  
From Heaven supreme a blessing prays  
Upon the feast!

"Then onwards let the triumph march;  
Then let the loud artillery roll,  
And trumpets ring and joy-bells toll,  
And pass the gate.  
Pass underneath the shining arch,  
'Neath which the leafy elms are green—  
Ascend unto your throne, O Queen,  
And take your State!

"Behold her in her royal place;  
A gentle lady—and the hand  
That sways the sceptre of this land,  
How frail and weak!  
Soft is the voice, and fair the face;  
She breathes 'Amen,' to prayer and hymn:  
No wonder that her eyes are dim,  
And pale her cheek.

"This moment round her empire's shores  
The winds of Austral winter sweep,  
And thousands lie in midnight sleep  
At rest to day.  
O! awful is that crown of yours,  
Queen of innumerable realms,  
Sitting beneath the budding elms  
Of English May!

"A wondrous sceptre 'tis to bear;  
Strange mystery of God which set  
Upon her brow yon coronet—  
The foremost crown  
Of all the world on one so fair!  
That chose her to it from her birth,  
And bade the sons of all the earth  
To her bow down.

"The representative of man  
Here from the far Antipodes,  
And from the subject Indian seas  
In congress meet;  
From Afric and from Hindostan,  
From western continent and isle,  
The envoys of her empire pile  
Gifts at her feet.

"Our brethren cross the Atlantic tides,  
Loading the gallant decks which once  
Roared a defiance to our guns,  
With peaceful store;  
Symbol of peace, their vessel rides!  
O'er English waves float star and stripe,  
And firm their friendly anchors gripe  
The father shore!

"From Rhine and Danube, Rhone and Seine,  
As rivers from their sources gush,  
The swelling floods of nations rush,  
And seaward pour:  
From coast to coast, in friendly chain,  
With countless ships we bridge the straits,  
And angry ocean separates  
Europe no more.

"From Mississippi and from Nile—  
From Baltic, Ganges, Bosphorus,  
In England's ark, assembled thus  
Are friend and guest.  
Look down the mighty sunlit aisle,  
And see the sumptuous banquet set,  
The brotherhood of nations met  
Around the feast!



" Along the dazzling colonnade,  
 Far as the straining eye can gaze,  
 Gleam cross and fountain, bell and vase,  
     In vistas bright.  
 And statues fair of nymph and maid,  
 And steeds, and pards, and Amazons,  
 Writhing and grappling in the bronze,  
     In endless fight.

" To deck the glorious roof and dome,  
 To make the Queen a canopy,  
 The peaceful hosts of industry  
     Their standards bear.

Yon are the works of Brahmin loom;  
 On such a web of Persian thread  
 The desert Arab bows his head,  
     And cries his prayer.

" Look yonder where the engines toil;  
 These England's arms of conquest are,  
 The trophies of her bloodless war:  
     Brave weapons these.

Victorious over wave and soil,  
 With these she sails, she weaves, she tills,  
 Pierces the everlasting hills,  
     And spans the seas.

" The engine roars upon its race,  
 The shuttle whirs along the woof,  
 The people hum from floor to roof,  
     With Babel tongue.

The fountain in the basin plays,  
 The chanting organ echoes clear,  
 An awful chorus 'tis to hear,  
     A wondrous song!

" Swell organ, swell your trumpet blast,  
 March, Queen and royal pageant, march  
 By splendid aisle and springing arch  
     Of this fair hall:

And see! above the fabric vast,  
 God's boundless Heaven is bending blue,  
 God's peaceful Sun is beaming through,  
     And shining over all."

## CHAPTER IV.

### PALMERSTON IN THE SHADE.

IN 1851, as we have seen, Lord Palmerston appeared to be at the height of his popularity and powers: nevertheless, to the astonishment of England and Europe, at the end of the year it was announced that Lord Palmerston was no longer in office. The journals friendly to his lordship declared that his resignation had been rendered necessary by the extraordinary conduct of the Prime Minister. It was said his lordship had assumed an important portion of the duties of the foreign office without due regard to the noble secretary who presided over that department. It was further said—although the fact had only recently been discovered by Lord Palmerston—that Lord John Russell had been long intriguing to drive him from office. On the other hand, various unstatesmanlike proceedings, on the part of Lord Palmerston, were alleged to have made it desirable that he should no longer remain a member of the government. Authentic explanations were anxiously called for; and the nation waited with impatience for the opening of parliament, when it was expected important disclosures would be made—the opinion of the majority evidently coinciding with that of Lady Palmerston, who, in a letter to a friend of the writer's, observed—"Lord John, in getting rid of my lord, has got rid of all the brains in the cabinet."

Parliament met February 3rd, 1852. Seizing the first opportunity, Lord John Russell undertook to detail the various circumstances connected with the retirement of Lord Palmerston. In performing this task, he thought it right to state that, in August, 1850, a letter had been written to Lord Palmerston, explaining how his duty, as Foreign Secretary, had been understood by her majesty. It was as follows:—"The queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the queen may know exactly as to what she is giving the royal sanction. Secondly, that having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the crown, and justly to be visited by her constitutional right of dismissing that minister. She expects to be next informed of what passes between him and the foreign ministers before



important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time; and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should show this letter to Lord Palmerston." To this communication Lord John Russell replied—"I sent that accordingly, and received a letter from my noble friend (Lord Palmerston) to the following effect:—"I have taken a copy of this memorandum of the queen's, and will not fail to attend to the directions which it contains."

Lord John Russell, who was listened to with profound attention, then added—"Now, sir, I will state what is the duty of the Prime Minister; and I will not state it in my own words, but in the words which were used by the late Sir R. Peel, in giving evidence before the committee of this House with respect to foreign salaries. His words were—"Take the case of the Prime Minister. You must presume that he reads every important despatch from every foreign Court. He cannot consult with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and exercise the influence which he ought to have, unless he be master of everything of real importance passing in that department." I conceive Sir R. Peel there lays down the duty of a Prime Minister, and makes him responsible for the business of the country. I may say, likewise, that I was informed, both by her majesty and Sir Robert Peel, that Sir Robert had advised her to consult me whenever a question should arise with respect to foreign affairs. Such, then, being the state of the relationship which I held towards the crown on one hand, and to my noble friend on the other, I must say I have found the situation one of great difficulty."

His lordship then proceeded to complain of Lord Palmerston's conduct on various occasions; and, in particular, alluded to the reception which Lord Palmerston had given to the addresses presented to him by the borough of Finsbury and the parish of Islington. He said that there had been a cabinet meeting on the 3rd of November, at which it was agreed that the state of Europe was very critical, and that it behoved England to preserve the strictest neutrality. Yet, a short time afterwards, Lord Palmerston received deputations with addresses, in which the most disrespectful language was applied to the sovereigns of foreign nations. Though in this matter Lord Palmerston had not exercised due caution, he (Lord J. Russell) had been willing to consider it an inadvertence, and to take his share of the responsibility. But, after that occurrence, he had certainly expected even increased frankness from Lord Palmerston, and that he certainly would not make any communication to foreign governments without giving him (Lord John Russell) the opportunity of expressing his sentiments thereon. His next act, however, was the crowning one. A cabinet council had been held on the 3rd of December, in reference to the crisis in Paris, when it was agreed that Lord Normanby had only to abstain from all interference; and Lord Palmerston sent off a despatch correctly expressing the opinions of the government. The instruction was conveyed in this letter:—

"Foreign Office, December 6th, 1851.

"My Lord,—I have received, and laid before the queen, your excellency's despatch—No. 365, of the 3rd instant—requesting to be furnished with instructions for your guidance in the present state of affairs in France. I am commanded by her majesty to instruct your excellency to make no change in your relations with the French government. It is her majesty's desire that nothing should be done by her ambassador at Paris which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France.—I am, &c.,  
PALMERSTON."

A few days afterwards, Lord Normanby wrote to Lord Palmerston, to say that he had communicated his despatch to the French foreign minister, who had informed him, that same day, that Lord Palmerston had signified to Count Walewski his entire approbation of the *coup-d'état*, and had said that there was



no other course open to Louis Napoleon. He (Lord John) thought that this might be explained, and wrote to Lord Palmerston for the explanation of what, if truly stated, amounted to moral interference in the affairs of France. For several days Lord Palmerston sent no reply, although, on the 13th, a messenger came to Woburn from the queen, with a desire that the affair might be explained. Lord Palmerston, apprised of this, neglected to answer. On the 16th, Lord John Russell wrote to him that his silence was disrespectful to the queen. On the same day, Lord Palmerston wrote, of his own authority, to Lord Normanby (in answer to a despatch from him), and denied that he had said anything to Count Walewski inconsistent with the government instructions to Lord Normanby; but added, that his private opinion was, that it was for the interests of France and Europe that the president should succeed in the struggle. Now, he thought his noble friend had in this communication avoided the real question. The Foreign Secretary chose to put himself in the place of the crown, and to pass by and neglect the crown, although, as he said, a Secretary of State had no constitutional authority whatever. Another question arose, which was one of great delicacy. The act of the French president not only dissolved the assembly, but abolished the constitution, and fettered the press. This might be desirable or not; but it was a matter for the French people alone. It was not for an English minister to place the broad seal of England upon such acts. We have been showing sympathy to various nations for many years in their attempts to obtain constitutions. How could we take that course after expressing approbation of what had been done in France? Under all circumstances, he had come to the decision that he could not continue to act with Lord Palmerston. The latter had, at last, addressed to him a long letter, giving his reasons for advocating the cause of the president; but these reasons did not seem, to Lord John, to touch the question. He had, therefore, on the 20th, written to her majesty, advising that Lord Palmerston be requested to resign, or he (Lord John Russell) must retire. He consulted none of his colleagues in that step, feeling that the responsibility ought to remain with himself alone; but, at a cabinet council on the 22nd, they decided that he could have taken no other course.

Lord John subsequently took great pains to make the House understand, that while he objected to the circumstances under which Lord Palmerston had communicated his approbation of the conduct of the French president, he was far from entertaining any opinion unfavourable to him, or hostile to France. His lordship said, though it was not for the government of this country to act as Austria and Russia had done in regard to the president, still he had no hesitation in saying, that, no doubt, he had acted from the best sources of information; and that he had done what, from his knowledge of the question, he had thought best for France. He was here interrupted by a murmur, upon which his lordship repeated his sentence. He said—"Let me state that over again: that while I do not concur in the approbation of my noble friend, I have no reason to doubt (and everything I have heard confirms that opinion) that, in the judgment of the president, the putting an end to the constitution, the anticipating the election of 1852, and the abolition of the parliamentary constitution, were all tending to the happiness, and essential to the welfare, of France." His lordship continued—"But I have certainly to state further—because I confess I have seen, with very great regret, the language which has been used by a portion of the press with respect to the president of France—I remember something as a boy, and I have read more, of that which occurred during the peace of Amiens to render that peace of short duration, and to involve these two great countries in the most bloody hostilities that ever mangled the face of Europe. I believe that temperate discussion and negotiation between the two countries might have prevented the calamity of war; but that the language of the press, at that time, was such that it embittered all negotiation, and prevented the continuance of peace. Sir, I should deeply regret were the press of this country, at the present time, to take a similar course. We



have one advantage over that time. The first consul, great as were his abilities, was totally ignorant of the manners and constitution of this country. The present president of France has this advantage over his uncle—that he is perfectly aware of how much liberty we enjoy, how much license of discussion prevails; and that the most unmeasured invective of the press does not imply any feeling of hostility, either on the part of the government or on the part of the nation. I am convinced of this, that there never was a time in which it was more essential that the two countries should preserve the relations of peace and amity. I am convinced that there never was a time when the peace of Europe would contribute more to the cause of civilisation and happiness. I am convinced, likewise, from every source of information I have had, that the ruler of France (the present president of France) is desirous of keeping on those terms of amity; and it shall not be any fault of ours—it shall not be any fault of the government of this country—if these terms of peace and amity are not continued.”

His lordship added, it was not for the minister of England rashly to pronounce on changes in other countries. “But,” said his lordship, “while we do not interfere with their domestic concerns—while we abstain from any intemperate judgment on their internal affairs, yet there is one result which comes home to us, and imposes on us a duty from which we cannot flinch. All these various governments of foreign states, as each gets uppermost, send their enemies and opponents out of the country; and the consequence is, we have many seeking refuge in England. In giving them hospitality, we are but pursuing the ancient and known policy of this country; we are but doing that which was celebrated two centuries ago, when Waller said—

“ ‘ Whether this portion of the world be rent  
By the rude ocean from the continent,  
Or thus created, it was sure designed  
To be the sacred refuge of mankind.’ ”

“I trust that we shall never see this toast falsified: that whilst we disapprove of any attempts made, in this country, to change the established governments of other countries, so long as exiles from them conduct themselves peaceably, we shall consider it the honour and distinction of this country to receive, indiscriminately, all those who are the victims of misfortune.”

This lengthy detail of the circumstances which led to Lord Palmerston's resignation, and of the Premier's foreign policy, appears to have satisfied the House. Lord Palmerston's attempt at explanation or reply was very short. He vindicated his late proceedings and general character: claiming to be, while he remained in power, what Lord John Russell had formerly named him—not the minister of Austria, or Russia, or Prussia; but the minister of England. With respect to the addresses from Finsbury and Islington, his lordship said he had deemed it right to receive the deputation. He had scarcely thought his answer would have been made a matter of public importance; but there was nothing in that answer which he had not said in that House; and though he had regretted expressions in the addresses in question, he did not think that there was anything in that affair to impair our foreign relations. Adverting to the incidents of the *coup-d'état*, he said that he had, in conversation with the French ambassador, uttered precisely the sentiments which appeared in the despatch Lord John Russell had read. But when Lord Normanby applied for instructions, there could be, of course, but one answer consistent with our national policy. Lord Normanby thought it necessary to communicate this to the French minister. The latter said, that, two days before, he received a communication, which he described, however, in highly-coloured words. Lord John Russell had written for explanations; and he (Lord Palmerston) being much pressed by business, delayed his reply until he could find time to write it. He then did write, and said that his opinion was, that the antagonism which had arisen between the president and the assembly had



made it impossible both could exist together. He had replied to Lord John Russell's letter, that there was a distinction between official despatches and non-official communications; that he had said nothing to Count Walewski which could fetter the government; and that, if a foreign secretary were forbidden to talk freely to a foreign ambassador, there would be an end to all that easy diplomatic communication which tended most of all to preserve the peace of nations. Upon this, Lord John signified that he (Lord Palmerston) ought to resign. He conceived his own doctrine right, and Lord John Russell's to be wrong. But, he added, that his opinion was expressed on the 3rd of December: and, the same evening, under the same roof, Lord John Russell expressed his opinion to the same individual. Judging by what had fallen from Lord John Russell that night, it was probable that his opinion was the same as Lord Palmerston's; and, on the following Friday, each of the other ministers seem to have expressed an opinion upon the very subject which Lord Palmerston was told he must not express an opinion upon. So every minister, except the only one who had studied foreign questions, was to be free to pronounce upon them.

And thus Palmerston lost office; and all the while he was growing in popularity and power. We must now stop to tell the story of the *coup-d'état*, his recognition of which was such an offence.

"Every thinking person in Paris," writes Captain Gronow, "towards the close of the year 1851, anticipated, with considerable apprehension, that, early in the ensuing spring, a great change must take place in the government of the country. The constitution which had been proclaimed, with apparent enthusiasm, in the year 1848, appeared likely to produce anarchy and confusion; for a new president and an assembly had to be elected: and, whatever claims the individual who had once acted as head of the state, might have upon the country, he was, according to the constitution, ineligible again to fill that high position. There was every reason to fear that the red republicans would make a desperate effort to gain power, even should the streets of Paris be again deluged with blood; indeed, the language of some of their adherents boldly proclaimed that liberty could only be secured by means of the guillotine. In effect, a struggle for power had commenced between the prince-president and the representatives of the people. The assembly had refused to grant to the chief of the state the funds necessary to defray the expenses attendant upon his position. It manifested distrust of his ministers, and jealousy of his popularity with the army, of which Changarnier had the command; and so mean were the devices resorted to to annoy Louis Napoleon, that he was compelled to wear, at reviews, the uniform of a general of the national guard. A decided opposition was being organised against his re-election; and there is no doubt that his personal liberty was menaced by his opponents; and that, had the *coup-d'état* not taken place, his career would have terminated in the fortress of Vincennes. The candidature of the Prince de Joinville for the presidency of 1852, which was very popular in France, even among the Liberal party, and seemed likely to be successful, disquieted the Bonapartists; and the evident and insolent language of General Changarnier aroused Louis Napoleon to the conviction that the time for action had arrived. It was the general opinion that a crisis was rapidly approaching; and only the president had the skill and courage to place himself at the head of the movement, and act decisively.

"The prince-president naturally looked to the army, already deeply disgusted by the interference of the legislative body, and prepared to hail with delight the expected advent of a bold leader. At the end of November, the principal military authorities met at the house of General Magnan, and unanimously resolved to co-operate in any measures necessary to secure the tranquillity of Paris, and the establishment of a firm and resolute government. The whole army, being stationed in the vicinity of the metropolis, was prepared for some decisive movement; and although its precise nature was not understood, yet there was a determination to obey any orders emanating from the military authorities, whatever might be the



consequences. Relying on the support that he was thus to receive, the prince-president announced to some of his faithful followers that the time had at length arrived when it was necessary, for the welfare of the country and his own preservation, that he should grasp the sovereign power. Upon those friends Louis Napoleon knew he could rely. He has always had attached adherents, who have devoutly followed his fortunes on desperate occasions, and have never failed him in adversity. Such fidelity and devotion, while it reflects honour on them, also indicates rare qualities in the prince, who exercises so powerful an influence over his adherents. His winning, unaffected manners; his calm self-possession; the deliberation and coolness of his judgment; and his firm conviction of his ultimate success, which have borne Louis Napoleon through difficulties apparently insurmountable, have never failed to impress all who have been admitted to his intimacy. He has also obtained the well-merited reputation of never having alienated or forgotten a friend."

The friend who was of most service on this occasion was M. de Morny. He entered into the plan proposed with a full conviction that he was acting the part of a good citizen and an attached friend, and zealously devoted himself to the cause of the prince; indeed, much of its success must be attributed to his admirable arrangements. Throughout he exhibited a calm and indomitable spirit. He was at the Opera Comique on the very night when the storm was to burst forth; but nothing in his appearance or manner indicated that he was harbouring any ulterior designs. It is said, being seated near a lady of high rank, she asked him if the rumour in circulation was true, that it was intended to sweep out the legislative assembly. His prompt reply was—"I trust I shall be near the handle of the broom that is to produce this effect." His tact, his temper, and his moderation may be judged of by the telegraphic despatches which passed, during the tumult of the day, between himself and the Minister of Police. The celebrated Dr. Verron occupied himself for some time in copying these messages as they were transmitted; and the experienced editor of the *Constitutionnel* has enabled the public to judge how rapidly M. de Morny entered into the ideas of the Minister of Police, and how cautiously, yet how vigorously, he answered the hurried and somewhat imprudent communications that he received. Nor must we omit here General (then Major) Fleury, a gallant officer, who had greatly distinguished himself in Africa, upon whose remarkable abilities the prince had the strongest reliance. Then there was M. de Maupas, who had, in the exercise of his authority as *préfet* at Bordeaux, shown qualifications which entitled him to be entrusted with the important office of Minister of Police. Two distinguished men, of high rank in the army, represented the military element. General (afterwards Marshal) St. Arnaud accepted the onerous position; and General (now Marshal) Magnan was appointed to the command of the army at Paris. Such were the conspirators. Now for the conspiracy.

"On the evening of the 1st of December, a gay and fashionable assembly was held at the palace of the Elysée. The prince was present, and was affable as usual. At eleven o'clock the party broke up, and the visitors departed. Then the prince, with his faithful friend and secretary, M. Mocquard, the Count de Morny, M. de Maupas, and General St. Arnaud, entered the private cabinet of the president, to arrange definitely the course of proceeding on the morrow. It was at this meeting that the final orders were issued to the various functionaries by whom the plan of operations was to be carried into effect. Everything had been well and maturely considered; even the minor details had been admirably arranged. To obtain possession of the government press; to arrest some whose evident opposition was most to be dreaded; to prevent the meeting of the legislative body; to distribute the different regiments in commanding positions; to name a new ministry—these were objects of vital importance; and each felt that the failure of one might endanger the success of the rest. Each member of the council felt that on his efficiency rested the lives and fortunes of his associates, and the



complete success of the movement; and each did his best accordingly." Then, as usual, Louis Napoleon was well served.

"Louis Napoleon's first step was to sign the dismissal of the existing ministry; the appointment of the new ministers to their respective offices; and to prepare those energetic proclamations which were read by the astonished Parisians next morning. An active and intelligent officer (Colonel Bévillé) had been selected to carry to the printing-office the decrees that were to be disseminated. These consisted of appeals to the people; orders to the army; and the proclamation of the *préfet* of police. He took them to the national printing-office, where he found that a hundred of the *garde municipale* had, with prudent foresight, been installed, with orders to obey his commands. The director, of course, complied with the injunctions of the *préfet* of police; and the printers were kept at work during the night, under strict surveillance; and, in the morning, Paris was placarded with the president's decrees. As soon as M. de Bévillé had left the room, M. de Morny, M. Maupas, and General St. Arnaud, separated to their several posts, prepared to act simultaneously; and, with the energy and boldness essential to success, the prince retired to rest, and gave orders that he should be called at five o'clock. He betrayed not the slightest emotion; and nothing transpired that could give the household the most remote intimation of what was about to occur." Indeed, says Captain Gronow, "it is a well-known fact, that the domestics were as much surprised the following morning, at learning that a revolution had taken place in Paris, as any other inhabitants of the city; for some of them actually sallied out to inquire of the servants of the English embassy, whether there was any truth in the reports that had reached them from without." We are aware Mr. Kinglake has given quite a different account of what occurred on the eve of the *coup-d'état*; but his eloquent page is too often marred by a personal prejudice, which should find no place in history.

In the difficult matter of the arrests, the conspirators found unexpected success. The Minister of Police, M. de Maupas, instantly summoned all the commissioners of the different *arrondissements* into his cabinet, and signed orders for the arrest of the leading members of the legislative assembly, which were to be carried into effect before the break of day. Strange to say, there was not a word of inquiry, not a sign of hesitation. These functionaries recognised at once the authority under which they were called upon to act, and performed their duties with marvellous promptitude, and with unavailing efficiency. The prisons of Paris received the men who, the day before, were the legislators and governors of France.

It is said that General Changarnier was very nearly being made acquainted with impending events. A young officer, whose regiment was stationed at Courbevoie, had come to Paris for the night. He was awoken by his servant, who told him that his presence was required immediately, as his regiment had been suddenly called out. The officer, surprised at the intelligence, and thinking that he ought to acquaint General Changarnier with the unusual order, went to the general's hôtel; but finding that the porter was slow in opening the door, he abandoned his intention, and went to his quarters, whence he was obliged to accompany his regiment on the following day, to overthrow the authority of General Changarnier and his friends. It seems little delicacy was shown in arresting the most distinguished men of the day. M. de Morny, after playing at "whist" at the Jockey Club, with Colonel Feray and Count Daru, went to the hôtel of the Minister of the Interior at five in the morning, and found the actual possessor of the office enjoying a peaceful slumber, from which he was speedily awakened to find himself superseded. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. Some of the members in vain attempted to assemble and form a house; but they were removed, and imprisoned for the day in the barracks on the Quai d'Orsay; while others were distributed among the neighbouring forts. Never was more energy displayed than on this occasion, and, apparently, under the sanction of law; for the



ministers had their instructions direct from the president of the republic, who, as the executive power, was invested with the authority of arrest and imprisonment. All the different *employés* of government, therefore, whether civil or military, carried out the commands they received without a moment's hesitation, coming, as they did, from the quarter which they were accustomed to regard as being responsible for what they did. In short, everything worked well; and the government was soon completely in the hands of those who had so adroitly planned, and boldly carried out, the *coup-d'état*. The only fear now was of the red republicans, whom, it was known, would be aroused, and be prepared to carry out their aims, no matter at what reckless expenditure of human life.

"Upon the 2nd of December," Captain Gronow writes, "totally unconscious of what was going forward, I left my house, and was somewhat surprised to witness great agitation among the people in the streets, who, for the most part, seemed anxious to return to their homes. I saw various groups reading placards of a large size, upon the walls of every street, that had evidently been posted up by order of government, as they were printed on white paper: for, since the revolution of 1848, all private announcements have, by order of the police, been printed upon coloured paper. Knowing that, at the mayoralty of my *arrondissement*, every authentic document would appear on the *façade*, I hastened thither. Besides, I was anxious to know what was said by the street politicians, who are in the habit of daily visiting the public office, outside which the *Moniteur* is daily affixed. I found two proclamations attracting the eager attention of the readers; one was a *plebiscite*, countersigned 'De Morny,' decreeing that votes should be taken at the different mayoralties, for or against the maintenance of the power of Louis Napoleon: the other emanated from the *préfet du police*, demanding the maintenance of order, and recommending people to remain at home. Little was said by the readers; but in the group I espied a well-known *figaro* of the neighbourhood, who, whilst shaving his customers, usually launched out into politics. He was a staunch Bonapartist; for his father, a soldier, had been raised to the rank of sergeant, in consequence of a brave but ineffectual attempt to rescue Prince Poniatowski from a watery grave, at the battle of Leipsic. I determined to submit my chin to the operation of this worthy during the afternoon, feeling sure that I should hear information from him as to what was the general feeling of his customers. In the meantime I strolled into the Faubourg St. Honore, where a squadron of the 12th regiment of dragoons was stationed before the British embassy; another being drawn up in front of the palace of the Elysée; whilst there was a third doing duty at the garden gate. A few individuals stood gazing on the unusual military display; but not a word was uttered, and they soon passed on. Now and then a carriage drove up to the gate, and, after a scrutiny from the porter, was admitted or rolled away. So far as I could learn, no demonstration of any kind was made that day at the fashionable end of the town; but it was said that the republicans were to have, at ten at night, meetings, to take into consideration the incidents of the day; and that, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, the Barrière du Trône, and the Faubourg du Temple, cries had been heard of '*Vive la République Sociale!*' and '*A bas le Prétendant!*'

"After reconnoitring the principal streets, and seeing nothing remarkable beyond the anxiety and curiosity written upon the faces of most persons, and witnessing what is not unusual in the streets of Paris—the marching of several regiments, evidently in high glee—I adjourned to the barber's, and seated myself in his chair. He was in a state of great excitement, and expatiating on the many virtues of Prince Louis Napoleon; with which he had become acquainted from having, on two occasions, dressed the hair of the chambermaid, whose duty it was to lay the fire over-night in the cabinet of the president, which he himself generally lighted at an early hour in the morning. The excellent *soubrette* could never speak in sufficiently high terms of the gentleness and amiable temper of her master; and the worthy barber had caught the infection, deriving his information



from her as to the prince's domestic virtues; and, inheriting his father's admiration of the great Napoleon, he launched out in no measured terms against all who opposed the re-election of the president, though his animosity to the republicans was somewhat restrained by the presence of two doubtful-looking statesmen in blouses, who now and then interrupted him by expressing their faith in General Changarnier. My eloquent friend soon resumed his discourse, anathematising M. Thiers, as having obliged King Louis Philippe to resign, that he himself might become prime minister to the Duchess of Orleans; and hurling strong language against M. Emile Girardin, for abetting Prince Louis Napoleon, the cousin of Prince Louis, in his views of succeeding to the presidency. He had heard some cries in the streets of '*Vive le Empereur!*' from the military, and they had quite delighted him. Some of the surrounding persons, waiting to have their beards trimmed, differed from the knight of the brush: doubts were expressed of the talents of the prince-president; and there was evidently a republican tendency springing up. But the announcement that the prince, attended by a numerous staff, was passing by, put a stop to the conversation; away every one rushed to see the passing show; and, upon their return, there was a universal opinion expressed that the prince-president looked like a noble soldier, and every inch a king. His gallant bearing had evidently produced a strong impression upon the spectators, the majority of whom, from that moment, were evidently in favour of the change that had taken place."

Indeed, all this time, in contradiction to the story told by those who ought to have known better, the prince was easy of access. Those who were received at the Elysée found him calm, collected, and urbane as usual; and as notes and messages were placed in his hands, he received them with coolness, and quietly read their contents; but never, by his countenance, his gestures, or his words, would the effect or import of these communications be inferred. He addressed all with his customary affability and kindness, and conversed upon various topics. Upon these eventful days the prince maintained his usual equanimity, and was not more grave and silent than usual, nor for an instant did he flinch from possible danger. To M. de Persigny had been entrusted the task of effecting an honourable retreat in case of an adverse turn of circumstances. His duty it would have been, had the day gone against the conspirators, to have collected the household, and to have conducted the prince, with all the troops that were faithful, to the palace of the Tuileries, where the active leaders were determined to make a last stand, and succeed or perish in the attempt. This was the only alternative proposed. No preparations had been made for flight; no horses and carriages kept ready; no money had been sent to foreign countries; and nothing had been packed up to carry off at a moment's notice.

In the streets of Paris, the prince-president, attended by a numerous staff, accompanied by ex-King Jerome and by Count Flahault, was remarkably well received. Shouts of '*Vive le Prince!*' were heard from every regiment as he cantered along the Champs Elysées. He returned at an early hour to the Elysée, where M. de Persigny received him with the intelligence that all steps hitherto taken were successful, and that the military were fully prepared to obey the orders of their superiors. Indeed, so obedient were the sentries to the commands which had been given, that when the president, preparing to leave the garden of the palace, presented himself at the gate, the advanced guard of the 12th regiment, then on duty, would not allow him to pass without giving the countersign. The orderly officers, and the aides-de-camp, gave proof of their courage, zeal, and devotion. At one moment false reports were rife that some of the regiments exhibited an unwillingness to act. General Rollin was summoned, to express his opinion, and explain the state of affairs. He found the prince firm and resolved, and quite ready to take upon himself any personal responsibility for any steps that might be necessary.

Paris, of course, while these things were being done, was in a state of great



alarm and anxiety. The arrest of so many distinguished political personages filled every one with apprehension. In the *cafés* a profound silence was observed; all communications of man to man seemed suddenly to have ceased, and anxiety was depicted on every countenance. The *salons* of the gay world were necessarily closed, as few dared to venture forth in the evening, no one knowing the extent of danger that might be incurred. Were there to be Roman proscriptions? Was the guillotine to be erected once more in the Place de la Concorde? Lists of the prisoners (which, of course, abounded with errors) were eagerly circulated, and surmises were made as to their probable fate. These alarms were perfectly natural, for the real disposition of the prince was, of course, unknown: yet his conduct was of the most conciliatory kind. Indeed, as soon as quietness was re-established, and the influence of the members of the assembly could no longer be of annoyance, every one was liberated, and not a person was in any way interfered with who was willing to submit to the new state of things. Some who menaced the newly-established government were necessarily exiled for a short period, to prevent their entering upon schemes which could only be injurious to society and themselves. But, as soon as possible, a complete amnesty was offered; and those who announced their intention to remain quiet, were at once allowed to return to their homes. Those who were taken with arms in their hands, and had proclaimed the republic, were handed over for trial to the established tribunals; and only those were removed from the country whose characters as disturbers of society had been previously acknowledged. The times demanded sharp measures and prompt action. Democracy, socialism, red republicanism, were to be combated; and success attended the grand attempt. Property and intelligence have been rendered secure; the boldness and energy of one man have crushed dangers to society which were seen to be fast approaching, and which, if not arrested, would have produced anarchy and confusion, and destroyed the peace and prosperity of the nation.

For the legislative assembly little regret was felt. It had never gained or deserved the confidence of the people. Its aim appeared to be to return to the legislation of MM. Molé, Guizot, and Thiers; and its ingratitude to Lamartine was patent to all the world. There were cabals against General Cavaignac; Armand Marrast was unable to control the debates; and the assembly was too often the scene of virulent dispute and indecent insolence. When Victor Hugo attempted to speak he was invariably greeted with bursts of laughter: the taunts and marks of ridicule lashed the orator into a fury; and the more furious his speech and gestures, the more furious the laughter. There had been so many changes in the ministry, that people hardly knew who filled the respective offices. Leon Faucher was almost the only one who enjoyed public confidence; and even he was regarded by a large party with suspicion, for they beheld in him only a warming-pan for the advent to office of M. Thiers, who was supposed to be ready to take advantage of any change, and offer himself as candidate for the presidency of the republic. Rumours were widely circulated that a *coup-d'état* was preparing on the part of the assembly; and many of its acts seemed to support such an idea. The protests and appeals to the country, made by some few members on the morning of the 2nd of December, were received with apathy, and elicited no exhibition of feeling on their behalf; for when, at the *mairie*, arrests took place, no rescue was dreamt of—the spectators gazed on quietly, and were perfectly indifferent to the consequences.

However, there was an armed resistance. Slight barricades were formed in some of the streets; but the people took little interest in these manifestations on the first day. On the 3rd of December greater resistance was offered. Evidently M. de Maupas received exaggerated reports from his *employés*, which he somewhat hastily communicated to the Minister of the Interior; and these, unfortunately, led to the decisive and energetic course taken on the 4th of December. M. de Maupas, unaccustomed to the amplifications of the police agents, was alarmed by false



reports. He actually communicated a telegram, announcing that the Prince de Joinville had disembarked at Cherbourg; and that other princes of the House of Orleans had arrived at different parts of France. He also believed that the same opponents were in the field as those who had fought against Cavaignac, and that they were fighting at the barricades with determination; that Ledru Rollin, and a whole army of red republicans, had reached Paris from Rouen: in short, upon reading carefully the telegraphic despatches, the only conclusion that can be arrived at is, that the fears of M. de Maupas, and not the orders issued from the Elysée, were the principal cause of the fatal 4th of December. Even at the end of the fatal day, when everybody was regretting what had occurred, the frightened Minister of Police begs that the troops should guard him; that they should not be allowed to enter their barracks; and at half-past five on that 4th of December, he announces new barricades, and states that fresh insurgents are coming up by the railroad. It is impossible to read the bulletins which passed on this occasion, without arriving at the conclusion that M. de Morny, in obedience to the wishes of the prince-president, acted with forbearance and lenity; that had he listened to the fears of the Minister of Police, the occurrences would have been of a much more fearful character. Even when this zealous chief of an active department pointed out to M. de Morny where Victor Hugo was concealed, and wished to make an examination of the house, the answer was, "*Ne faites rien.*" Captain Gronow admits that the 4th of December was a melancholy day for France; but he argues that it is neither just nor honest to attribute the lamentable events which then occurred to cold-heartedness on the part of Louis Napoleon. He says—"No man more deeply deplored them; and, where the opportunity offered, he gave what indemnity he could to the families of those who suffered. There are young persons who lost their parents on that day, who have been educated at his expense, the cost being defrayed out of his private purse; and I know, myself, one instance in which the children have had a regular quarterly stipend paid to them from their infancy, and which is continued to this day."

Well might Louis Napoleon regret the terrible events of the day. An English officer, from a window of the Boulevard Montmatre, was a personal witness of the scene that took place in the street beneath him, where many persons fell victims to the fire of the soldiery. He declares, that the infantry, quartered in subdivisions, suddenly fired, not only upon the men, women, and children upon the footpath, but at the windows above them, and with sad results: volley succeeded to volley; and it was evident that a panic had taken possession of the minds of the soldiery. Their officers had given no commands; for they were quietly smoking their cigars when the firing began.

In extenuation of this atrocity, it is said that the windows of the houses had, on former occasions, been filled by insurgents, who fired upon the troops, when the soldiers suffered so severely as to be under the necessity of watching for concealed foes; and had been obliged to rush into a house, with the hope of dragging forth their enemies. In 1848, in the Rue Castiglione, two soldiers were killed by shots from the third storey of a house, whilst a lady was quietly standing on the balcony above. The soldiery, too, remembered that, in the days of Louis Philippe, from a window of a house upon one of the boulevards, a deadly volley was discharged, by which many military were killed; among them Marshal Mortier, as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword for his country. It is confessed that a great deal of irritation existed among the military, from the recollection of what had occurred during the revolution in 1848, when they were most shamefully treated. They recollected the carnage, and the burning alive of the brave men in the guard-house before the Palais Royal. They bore in mind the treachery which some of their comrades experienced in the Champs Elysées; and there existed amongst them a strong feeling against the Parisians in general; and thus they hastened to baptize, in blood and shame, the second empire. Truly the excuse is a very sorry one.



Captain Gronow shall tell us what he saw. "I happened," he writes, "on that day to pay a visit, in company with my friend Mr. Paget, of the British embassy, to my banker, in the Rue Basse du Rampart. M. Charles Lafitte then gave us to understand that orders had been given to the military to act with great moderation; but if there existed the slightest disposition to riot, they were to take the bull by the horns, and to destroy all barricades with cannon. During our short interview the bugles were heard close at hand; the windows were opened, and we took up a position on the balcony, whence we saw marching, in good military order, and at double-quick time, the chasseurs of Vincennes. M. Lafitte, without anticipating what was about to occur, said good-naturedly, 'If you wish to see the fun you had better follow the troops; for I am confident, from the information I have this moment received, that they are bent on mischief.'

"Mr. Paget and I then bent our steps towards the Rue Richelieu, where the rattling of musketry was distinctly heard. My friend left for the British embassy; saying that, as a diplomatist, his place was in the Faubourg St. Honore, and not upon the boulevards. Immediately afterwards, a brigade of Lancers, commanded by Colonels Feray and Rochefort, arrived opposite the spot where I had placed myself, at the angle of the Rue Grange Batelière and the boulevards. A considerable crowd had there collected; and such was their hostile attitude, and so loud their vociferations, that I was convinced the Lancers would not long remain inactive, especially if the slightest insult were offered them. From among these persons thus collected came a pistol-ball with a loud detonation, and a soldier was wounded. Colonel Rochefort immediately charged at the head of his regiment. The consequence was, that several of the crowd were severely wounded, and a bad feeling sprang up amongst the soldiery. I thought it prudent to quit this scene, and return to my home, which I did with considerable difficulty.

"Certainly all that occurred was of a nature to excite uneasiness and alarm; but that it was seen with frenzied horror by thousands of French men and women, is an absurd exaggeration. The upper classes of Paris were, no doubt, exceedingly angry and irritated, because, during every *émeute* in the metropolis, the boulevards on the Madeleine side of the Rue Richelieu always continued to be the resort of the *flâneur*, and had escaped the slaughter consequent on the erection of barricades; and they went there attracted by the pomp and circumstance of war, and thought themselves safe; for they looked upon the soldiers as their national defenders against insurgents, and they were maddened at the idea of the slaughter of unarmed slaughterers, who had gone out, as it were, under the shield of the military to see what was going forward."

It is to be believed that things were not so bad as exaggerated by popular rumour; but in all conscience they were bad enough. The occurrences of that day undoubtedly struck a terror into the hearts of the people of Paris, which, as Captain Gronow admits, will never be obliterated; and they certainly have tended to affect the popularity of the Emperor Napoleon in the capital, more especially as his political adversaries have never failed to throw upon him the responsibility of events over which he had no control. There was no wanton massacre of the people, as has been asserted; there were sad mistakes; and people ran into danger, notwithstanding the warnings that were distributed everywhere; for placards were upon the walls in every direction, entreating every one to stay at home. There were insurgents; there were barricades; there was firing upon the soldiers; there was, therefore, a necessity for martial law to be enforced: but the emperor is not justly chargeable with the wild excesses of the soldiery.

"The Parisians," continues Captain Gronow, "even at the height of their excitement, did not hold the prince-president responsible for these deplorable consequences; neither had he the least apprehension of being the object of vindictive feelings. So far from entertaining any personal fear, his calm self-possession was never more prominent than during these eventful days. I will only mention one corroborative circumstance in proof of this.



“On the fourth night after the *coup-d'état*, my daughter and myself were present at a ball, given by the Duchess of Hamilton in honour of the prince-president, at the Hôtel Bristol, Place Vendôme. At ten o'clock precisely the president entered the ball-room, accompanied only by Count Bacciochi, when a quadrille was formed. The prince appeared perfectly cool and collected. He conversed with a great many persons; but more particularly with Lord Cowley, who had only arrived in Paris that morning to fill his post of British ambassador. The instant the clock struck twelve, Count Bacciochi said, in a low whisper, that the prince's carriage was ready, whereupon the Duke of Hamilton, taking two wax candles, conducted his imperial guest down-stairs, and handed him into his plain brougham. On the return of the duke to the ball-room, he observed to several friends who had collected around him, ‘How extraordinary; there were neither military nor police in the court-yard of the hôtel to protect the president in case of danger.’ In fact, the prince returned at midnight, without an escort, to the Elysée, in a one-horse brougham.” So much for the *coup-d'état*, the speedy recognition of which was so hurtful to the feelings of Lord John Russell.

It was not long before Lord Palmerston had his revenge. As usual, Lord John Russell was not strong enough for his place. A Reform Bill was introduced by the Premier. It was, and is, his infallible receipt for securing or reviving popularity. The outline of the scheme was a reduction of the borough franchise to £5 rateable value; and in the counties, a £20 franchise. Lord John further thought it right to reduce the qualifications derived from copyholds and long leases, from £10 to £5; and to give the county franchise to persons paying 40s. a year to the assessed taxes. In the case of boroughs having fewer than 500 voters, it was proposed to add to them the inhabitants of neighbouring places. With respect to the qualification of members, Lord John introduced a clause repealing all the acts of Anne, by which qualifications were required. The oaths taken at the table of the House, it appeared to him, were such as could not consistently be retained. The bill proposed to alter them, and to omit in one of them the words, “on the true faith of a Christian.” The bill, moreover, provided, that upon the changing of offices held under the crown, vacation of seat and re-election should not be required. As regards Ireland and Scotland, some slight alterations were proposed. Having stated the outline of his plan, his lordship said that he trusted, when the enlarged franchise was given, that the next step the House would see the government of the country taking, would be to deal with the great question of the education of the people. He was convinced that, after a measure of this kind was carried, it would be the duty of the House to consider the means of adopting a really national system of education; and, in doing so, he was sure they would be conferring upon the country and the people one of the greatest blessings that could possibly be conceived. The measure was favourably received by the House; but, alas! before it came to a second reading, Lord Palmerston had triumphed, and the Russell administration was no more.

It came to pass thus—A call had been made on the government to strengthen the defences of the country; and, on the 16th of February, Lord John Russell unfolded the ministerial scheme upon the subject. Its leading features were as follows:—In 1808 and 1812, the local militia were balloted for in the same manner as the regular militia, by a long and expensive process; and, when chosen, were assembled and trained for twenty-eight days in the year. They were balloted from all persons between eighteen and thirty years of age; and they were commanded by persons appointed by the lord-lieutenant, having certain qualifications in respect to property. With regard to the officers, his lordship proposed that two-thirds should be appointed by the lord-lieutenant; and one field-officer, and one-third of the captains, by the crown, so that the regiments might have the benefit of the experience of half-pay officers available for this service, and who must be of great use in assisting the officers appointed by the lord-lieutenant. The age at which persons were to be balloted for, was from twenty to twenty-three



at first; and, in subsequent years, they were to be only of the age of twenty-one. Thus his lordship anticipated at once a force of 80,000; and, subsequently, of 30,000. It was further proposed that any man from twenty to thirty years of age might volunteer to serve in the local militia, and that so far as these volunteers supply the requisite number, the balloting should not take place. It was likewise proposed, that the volunteers thus placed in the local militia should serve one year less than the balloted men. It was proposed that the latter should serve for four years, but that they might, by order in council, be required to serve six months longer; and in case of parliament, by an address to the crown, requiring their services still further, another period of six months might be added—making twelve months altogether—in times of danger. Mr. Cobden, of course, strongly protested against the measure.

Lord Palmerston felt satisfaction at finding ministers were disposed to improve the defences of the country; but that satisfaction did not arise from a belief that there was greater danger of war than there had been at any former period. So far back as 1846, he had pressed upon the cabinet a proposal for improving the defences of the country. It was easy to object to meddling in quarrels abroad; but we had engagements of long standing, and political interests beyond the limit of our own shores. France was talked of as our only enemy; but France was not the only nation with a powerful fleet and army. Our insular position, the cause of so much of our strength, was also the cause of so much of our weakness. No one could say upon what part of our coast invasion might come. He believed that the navy was now more efficient than ever, and that we had a most valuable collection of stores; but was that a reason for allowing an enemy to burn these stores, and cripple the navy? An invasion was rendered less probable in proportion as we were prepared to meet it. He thought Lord John Russell's plan complicated, and considered the regular militia system would have been preferable. He suggested to government the leaving out the word "local," and to bring in a bill for amending the Militia Acts, which, doubtless, required amendment.

The resolution was carried, and referred to a committee. Their report was brought up on the 20th, when Lord Palmerston moved an amendment, of which he had given notice. He considered the improvements in steam navigation rendered it necessary for the country to be more prepared for the sudden breaking out of war than formerly. Such an emergency ought to be provided for in time of peace. The local militia proposed, would not, in his judgment, be sufficient. Such a force could not be rendered available in a moment; and if they adopted the plan of the government, it might happen that they would have to lock the stable door after the steed was stolen. The militia force ought to be movable, and liable to be sent to any part of the country—even to Scotland and Ireland—to resist invasion. But, said the noble lord at the head of the government, our militia, though local in name, will not be local in character. If that were so, why call it local at all? But, in addition to the local militia of 200,000 men, provision was to be made for augmenting the regular army; and, in case of war, the country would be exposed to the difficulty of balloting for some 80,000 or 90,000 men, to form an effective militia force to assist the army. Now it would be better, in his opinion, to have a general militia established in time of peace, which should be rendered so effectual in order and discipline, that it could be available almost at a moment's notice. A local militia was nothing less than a regular militia; and if the House wished to protect the country against invasion, they should establish a militia force which should be liable to be called out at any moment, and to serve in any part of the kingdom where their assistance might be required. All the arguments he had ever heard urged against a regular militia, were tantamount to saying that Englishmen were cheats, Scotchmen cowards, and Irishmen traitors. He had, however, not such a low estimate of the character of his countrymen. They would trust no one to defend the land but themselves; and he therefore hoped the House would have no hesitation in adopting his motion—namely, to insert after the word



"amend," the words "and consolidate;" and to omit the word "local" before the word "militia." On a division, there appeared for the amendment, 136; against it, 125. Such a defeat Lord John Russell considered fatal to his administration. Immediately after the announcement of the numbers, his lordship said he considered the vote of the House tantamount to a refusal, on its part, to the government to bring in the bill. He could not be responsible for any measure upon this subject which would contain clauses and provisions other than those which he should have introduced. He therefore relieved himself from every responsibility with respect to this resolution. Any other person might undertake to bring in a bill upon the subject, but he would not. Lord Palmerston expressed surprise that the noble lord should shrink from the discharge of his public duty, particularly as he had undertaken to bring in a bill upon this matter, after due and long deliberation. It was unworthy of a minister in the noble lord's position to abandon a measure of this sort because the House of Commons had expressed an opinion that its principle ought to be of an extended character. Lord John Russell insisted that he was perfectly justified in the course he had undertaken. The House had expressed a want of confidence in the government measure, and he had, therefore, no alternative but to give it up. He should then move that Mr. Bernal and Lord Palmerston do bring in the bill.

This was an announcement that created great excitement. All this occurred on a Friday. On the following Monday, the Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, and Lord John Russell in the Commons, declared that ministers had resigned, and that the Earl of Derby had been sent for. His lordship was not long in the execution of his task; and it was soon known that the following appointments had been made:—First Lord of the Treasury, and Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby; Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli; Lord Chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden; Lord President, the Earl of Lonsdale; Lord Privy Seal, with a seat in the cabinet, the Marquis of Salisbury; Secretaries of State—Home, Mr. Walpole; Foreign, the Earl of Malmesbury; Colonial, Sir John Pakington; First Lord of the Admiralty, Duke of Northumberland; Lords of the Admiralty—Rear-Admiral H. Parker, Rear-Admiral P. Hornby, Commodore Sir T. Herbert, Captain Milne; President of the Board of Control, Mr. Herries; Secretary of the Board of Control, Mr. Cummin Bruce; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Henley; Postmaster-general, the Earl of Hardwicke; Secretary at War, Mr. Beresford; Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Lord Colchester; Woods and Forests, Lord John Manners; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. Christopher; Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Wellington; Master-general of the Ordnance, Lord Hardinge; Attorney-general, Sir Frederick Thesiger; Solicitor-general, Sir Fitzroy Kelly; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Eglintoun; Secretary for Ireland, Lord Naas; Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Chief Justice Blackburne; Attorney-general for Ireland, Mr. Napier; Solicitor-general for Ireland, Mr. Whiteside; Lords of the Treasury—Marquis of Chandos, Lord Henry Lennox, Mr. Bateson, Mr. John Neald; Under-Secretaries of State—Home, Sir W. Joliffe; Foreign, Lord Stanley; Colonial, Lord Desart; Judge-Advocate, Mr. Bankes; Secretary to the Admiralty, Mr. Stafford; Chief Commissioner of the Poor-Law Board, Sir John Trollope; Secretary of the Poor-Law Board, Sir Emerson Tennent; Secretary of the India Board, Mr. Henry Baillie; Joint Secretaries of the Treasury, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Forbes MacKenzie. Great amusement was excited in Liberal circles by the announcement of the new ministry. The Whigs had been in office so long, they believed no one could rule but themselves. They had no faith in the new measures and the new men.

On the 27th, Lord Derby submitted to the House the policy of the new cabinet. On general subjects his lordship's statement was satisfactory: on the vexed question of protection, the announcement made was quite the reverse. In every quarter, the opponents of the new government industriously proclaimed



that the Earl of Derby was pledged to fight the battle of protection; but his strongest supporters, gravely as they might object to the free importation of foreign corn, had no wish, at that moment, to reopen the question. They prudently declined to enter upon a struggle in which they had no chance of success.

The ministry had enormous difficulties to contend with from the first. Before them was a united opposition, panting for their overthrow. On the 11th of March, a meeting was held at Lord John Russell's house, Chesham Place, which was largely attended by those who professed Liberal principles. Here his lordship reviewed the state of parties, and animadverted with severity on the policy of the Derby administration. It appeared to him that they wished to gain favour with the nation for promoting law and other reforms, which they had not heretofore countenanced; and then, by dissolving parliament, they hoped to impose on the country their real policy. His lordship recommended the Liberals to oppose this; and, for the present, to stand firm on the free-trade question. His lordship mentioned, that he had consulted Sir James Graham and Mr. Cobden, and they thought it would be desirable that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be called on, early in the ensuing week, to explain the principle on which he was disposed to act; and this, it was probable, would lead to a free-trade debate. Lord John Russell intimated, that, for the present, it would be well to postpone the Reform Bill; and expressed his belief that a Liberal government might speedily be constructed on broad constitutional principles. The views of his lordship were generally acquiesced in; and it was determined that all the strength of the party should be directed against the opponents of free trade.

Accordingly questions were asked in the Lords by Lord Beaumont, and in the House of Commons by Mr. Villiers. In his speech, the latter gentleman said, the government ought to be prepared to inform the country in what manner they proposed to carry out the policy with which they were identified. Mr. Villiers having read a portion of a speech delivered by Lord Derby the previous year, in which the latter used, in reference to the free-trade party, the words "Up guards, and at them," demanded in what way the onslaught thus promised to the protectionists was to be made. He did not believe that the nation would part with the invaluable principles it had acquired within the last few years; but, at all events, it should not do so without warning. Upon these grounds, he called upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to come forward, and make a manly and candid declaration of the intentions of government as regarded a future protection policy. Mr. Disraeli said, what he asked, was not fair play for the government, but fair play for the country. As inquiry had been made respecting the principles of the government, he begged to ask upon what principles the opposition was carried on. Information on this point was desirable, as Lord John Russell, within a fortnight, having declared that a dissolution was inexpedient, and advised the queen to send for Lord Derby, had formed a new opposition, with the view of forcing Lord Derby to do what he (Lord John Russell) had declared to be inexpedient. He proceeded to say that the government believed that injustice had been done the agricultural interest, which they would seek to remedy; but they were not pledged to any particular measure. He would not, for the sake of avoiding any blustering in the country, state that he would advocate a five-shilling duty, nor would he promise to impose any fixed duty at all. What he intended to do, was to redress the just grievances of the agricultural interests. To this speech, Lord John Russell replied, that he thought he had clearly stated the reasons which induced him to resign. But he would re-state them. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli had asserted that they took office only that her majesty might not be without a government. The fact was, that, for years, that party had been unscrupulously endeavouring to overturn the late government. They had a notice of motion on the books, which, if carried, would amount to a vote of want of confidence; and yet they pretended that they had been called to office for no other reason than because they were the recognised opposition. He had actually felt that, under the recent system adopted



by them, he should be worried out, if he were not driven out, of office. Their false pretence, moreover, was quite unnecessary; for, as a party, they were fully entitled to claim the position they occupied; and Mr. Disraeli's talents gave him a right to the leadership he had attained. But if he (Lord John Russell) had felt it improper for him to hold office with an uncertain majority, he considered it most unconstitutional for the present government to hold it with a decided minority. The opposition renewed their attacks, and were especially angry that government did not immediately dissolve. Mr. Bernal Osborne blamed the late minister for surrendering the reins of government; and, still more, for advising her majesty to send for the Earl of Derby. To him, it appeared, that ministers were going to bamboozle the public with the game of thimble-rigging, at which Lord Derby would preside at the table with his pea; whilst the country gentleman, his smock-frock friend, stood by as his adviser. The noble earl wanted to ride a waiting-race; but he hoped the country would make ministers show their mettle at once. Mr. Cobden thought the country might as well be governed by a dictatorship, as to have a minority of that House overrule a majority; and he called on that majority to give such a vote as would compel a prompt and decisive appeal to the country. The supporters of ministers denied the right of the opposition to dictate a period at which a dissolution should take place. Again Lord John Russell declared ministers were acting injudiciously and unconstitutionally. All he wanted was, that the government should propose some decisive policy, upon which the sense of the country might be taken at a general election. It was his impression that the country would not again tolerate a corn-law; that the people would never consent to any plan for taxing the poor man's food; nor would they long tolerate a tax upon tea or soap; for the time was approaching when ministers would be called upon to extend the system of direct taxation.

Meanwhile ministers pursued the even tenor of their way. The time had come to legislate on Indian affairs, and Mr. Herries moved for a select committee on the subject. The changes in 1833, in abating the exclusive rights and privileges of the East India Company, had produced very satisfactory results, not merely as regards the revenue, but in contributing to the well-being of the people.

In the Court of Exchequer, the case of Mr. Alderman Salomans was disposed of. The alderman was a Jew. He had been returned to parliament for Greenwich; but he was prevented taking his seat by an oath which required him to swear on the true faith of a Christian. The proceedings took the shape of an action, to recover penalties alleged to be forfeited by the defendant, by reason of his having voted in the House of Commons without having taken the oath of abjuration. Judgment was for the plaintiff. It appeared that the defendant, by trying the question, had rendered himself liable to very serious consequences. A member voting without having previously taken the oath required, besides incurring a fine of £500 for every vote so given, was disqualified from maintaining an action at common law, or a suit in equity. Any property belonging to him, in the possession of another, might be withheld from him; and any property in his own possession might be taken from him with impunity. No court of law—no influence of government—nothing but the intervention of parliament, could give him redress. Moreover, a person in his position could not act as guardian to an infant, however important it might be, in a moral or physical point of view, that the infant should enjoy his care, attention, and protection. He could not receive a legacy from any deceased friend, or from any other person; he could not receive a deed of gift of any property whatever; he could not be either the executor or administrator of any person; and he was rendered incapable of holding any office, or giving a vote at any election. In the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst called the attention of the House to these disqualifications. He complained of them as excessively severe, and obtained leave to bring in a bill for their repeal.

Again the subject of the national defences came up for consideration. Mr. Walpole, on the 29th of March, moved for a bill to amend and consolidate the laws



respecting the militia. The plan of the government was, to raise 40,000 men in the first year, and 30,000 in the second. Bounties were to be offered of three or four pounds. There was to be twenty-one days' training, which the crown might reduce to three days, or extend to seven weeks. The expense was estimated at £240,000; but, in the first year, equipment and clothing would make it £400,000. The measure was opposed by Lord John Russell, and defended by Lord Palmerston, who considered that the defences of the country ought to be strengthened. That was rendered necessary by the altered circumstances of the times. He supported the bill, considering that 80,000 men, partially trained and equipped, that could be called out in ten days, would be a more valuable addition to the military power of the country, than an addition of 8,000 men to the army. After two nights' debate, the second reading was carried by 315 to 165. Still the opposition was fierce and determined. It was not till June the 7th that it passed the Commons. In the Lords it was supported by the Duke of Wellington, who spoke on it almost for the last time in public.

The new Chancellor of the Exchequer was also successful with his budget; in reality it was that of the late government. There had not been time for Mr. Disraeli to make official inquiries, which were necessary in order to enable him to produce a financial scheme of his own; and he was therefore compelled, for the present, not to deviate widely from the tracks marked out by his predecessor. Mr. Disraeli stated, that the total estimate for the year would be £51,163,979. He added, that the ministry deemed it right to denounce, as most pernicious to all classes of the country, a systematic reduction of indirect taxation, while, at the same time, the House levied the direct taxation upon a very limited class. The government would not have shrunk from undertaking the laborious duty of examining the whole financial system accordingly; but he asked the House whether it was possible for them now to undertake a duty which demanded so much labour, and research, and time, which he was sure no member of the government had yet been able to command? It would have been more agreeable to him to have relieved the industry of the country, and to have adjusted the taxation fairly, upon right and equitable principles; but that was not now in his power. He trusted that the House would give him every facility for carrying into a law a measure for continuing, for the limited period of one year, the present property and income-tax.

A new dispute occurred this year with the United States. The North American colonies of England complained that their fishing-grounds were injuriously trespassed upon by American citizens. Sir John Pakington, the English Colonial Secretary, replied to the parties aggrieved, that ministers were desirous of removing all grounds of complaint on the part of colonists, in consequence of the encroachments of the fishing-vessels of the United States upon waters from which they had been excluded by the convention of 1818; and, he added, it was intended, as soon as possible, to despatch a small naval force of steamers, or other vessels, to enforce the observance of that convention. In America, stimulated by the Irish party, and by the eloquence of Daniel Webster, a very angry feeling was aroused and sustained. Just at this time, also, Thomas Meagher, who had forfeited his word of honour and escaped from exile, arrived at New York, where he was received with great honours, as the intrepid champion of freedom. Addresses and dinners were heaped upon him, as if he had been an illustrious sufferer, and a personage of some importance. His entertainers, however, were not the true American people, but, for the most part, the citizens imported from Ireland. He acknowledged their kindness by copious abuse of England and the she-tyrant, as he called Queen Victoria, to whose clemency he owed his life.

In France there were great changes. The hero of the *coup-d'état* was preparing his way for the restoration of the empire. With this view, he lost no time in preparing a new constitution. A senate and a legislative body were appointed: the number of the former was not to exceed 150; and the first year it



was limited to eighty. The senators were appointed for life; their functions were gratuitous. They were to be cardinals, admirals, and marshals, and citizens whom the president might think it proper to raise to the dignity of senators. The president might reward a senator with a dotation not exceeding 30,000 francs per annum. The legislative body, taking population for its basis, was to comprehend one deputy for every 35,000 electors: they were to have no salaries; and were to retain the distinction during six years. The government of France was, by this instrument, placed in the hands of Louis Napoleon, who, by his legislative talent, by his marriage with the beautiful empress, and by the birth of his son, has done much to secure and perpetuate imperial power.

In the autumn of this year, England was saddened by learning that her illustrious hero was no more: on the 14th of September his death was announced. Notwithstanding his great age, the state of his health, up to the morning of his decease, had not been such as to give warning of the result; and none of those around him entertained any apprehension of the change that was fast approaching. On the previous day, the duke rose, to all appearance, in his usual good health; and, after dining heartily, he retired to rest, apparently quite well. The next morning his grace felt unwell, and the medical man was sent for, who found him suffering, apparently, from indigestion. The fatal attack commenced soon after, and by three in the afternoon he was dead. His grace had reached the advanced age of eighty-three, having been born in 1769—the same year which witnessed the birth of William Pitt and Napoleon Bonaparte.

Parliament met in November; and the first thing done was to express, in fitting phrases, the sense the nation entertained of its loss. The Marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, on the occasion of the address on the queen's speech being voted, was the first to refer to the mournful theme. He said—"I stand in somewhat of a peculiar situation before your lordships, addressing you on this subject, because it may not be known to the greater number of your lordships—indeed, there are not now many alive to recollect it—that the individual who has now the honour to address you, some forty-seven years ago, in his place in the other House of parliament, when young in his parliamentary life, was permitted and authorised, by his colleagues of that time, to call on that other House to do justice to the memory, and to provide for the family, of one of the greatest heroes that ever lived, and with whom alone (in the military annals of the country), the noble duke, now no more, could be compared. It was, my lords, in the year 1807, at a time of great difficulty, and a great crisis in the military affairs of the country, that the nation was compelled, by a stroke of fate, to lose the services of the greatest admiral that ever distinguished England, and who then fell in the arms of victory:—

“ ‘ Fallen from his high estate,  
And weltering in his blood.’ ”

“ There was but one unanimous feeling on the subject. But when I addressed the House of Commons on it, I was but imperfectly aware—those whom I addressed were, also, but imperfectly aware—that, at the very moment when that great man had raised the navy to the highest pinnacle of perfection and glory, there was rising in the far east another man, destined to perform the same great service by the army of this country, and raise it, by efforts continually directed to that end, by the most unremitting study, the most untiring efforts, and the greatest practical skill, to a position in which it afterwards asserted the dignity of this country throughout the world; and established that high character which, thank God, the British army, under his powerful administration, as well as under his military career, has never forfeited. Such were the characters of two illustrious men; differing from each other, undoubtedly, as men do often in particular points of their character, but resembling each other in all that was great and excellent, directing their attention to one great object—not indifferent either of them, undoubtedly (as



who is indifferent?) to the praise of others, but never allowing that praise to divert them one moment from the service of their country; but making the honour of the crown, and the safety of the people, the sole objects of that unconquerable energy which regulated them in all the paths of duty. My lords, I feel proud—any man may feel proud—of having lived with such contemporaries.” Other speakers followed in a similar strain. In the House of Commons the same feeling was also manifested.

In a few days the subject was resumed; when, in answer to the message from the queen, both Houses voted a public funeral to the hero of Waterloo. Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had to propose the vote in the Commons; and, in his studied panegyric, there were some palpable and perfectly unaccountable plagiarisms, from an oration pronounced by M. Thiers, or Marshal St. Cyr, in 1848. In conclusion, Mr. Disraeli said—“Sir, when we take into account the prolonged and illustrious life of the Duke of Wellington, we are surprised how small a section of it is occupied by that military career which fills so large a space in history. Only eight years elapsed from Vimiera to Waterloo: and from the date of his first commission to the last cannon-shot which he heard on the field of battle, scarce twenty years can be counted. After all his military triumphs, the greatest and most successful of warriors—if not in the prime, at least in the perfection of manhood—commenced a civil career, scarcely less successful, scarcely less splendid, than that military one which will live for ever in the memory of men. He was thrice the ambassador of his sovereign at those great military congresses that settled the affairs of Europe; twice was he Secretary of State; twice was he Commander-in-Chief of the forces; once he was Prime Minister of England; and, to the last hour of his life, he may be said to have laboured for his country. It was only a few months before we lost him, that he favoured with his counsel and assistance the present advisers of the crown, respecting that war in the East, of which no one could be so competent a judge; and he drew up his views on that subject in a state paper, characterised by all his sagacity and experience: and, indeed, when he died, he died still the active chieftain of that famous army, to which he has left the tradition of his glory.”

The body of the dead hero was brought to London, and laid in state in Chelsea Hospital, where the crowd was so great, in consequence, that many lives were lost. On the 18th of November, with fitting pomp, he was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral. In his ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington, Tennyson, our poet-laureate, said—

“Bury the great duke  
With an empire's lamentation.  
Let us bury the great duke  
To the noise of the mourning of a mighty nation.  
Mourning when their leaders fall,  
Warriors carry the warrior's pall,  
And sorrow darkens hamlet and hall.”

Thus was it, in all England, in the sad and dull November of 1852. Most truly might—

“The mournful, martial music blow;  
The last great Englishman is low.”

But we must hasten on to chronicle the fall of the Derby-Disraeli administration. They had been more successful than was at first anticipated. They had survived the free-trade debate, inaugurated by Mr. Villiers; and had preserved peace with France by the recognition of the empire which Louis Napoleon had restored: but the rock a-head was their financial scheme; and on that rock they were wrecked.

On the 3rd of December, Mr. Disraeli unfolded his expected theme, which was to conciliate and reconcile alike the free-traders and the friends of protection to native industry. It took him five hours to explain and enforce his scheme. His



proposals were—to relieve the shipping interest, to promote the production of colonial sugar, and agricultural interests at home. The duties on malt and hops were to be materially reduced. As, by the proffered remission of duties, there would be a loss to the revenue of between three and four million pounds, and as the property and income-tax, yielding more than five millions of pounds, was about to expire, Mr. Disraeli proposed to extend it to Ireland. Ministers were also prepared to make a distinction between permanent and precarious incomes. On all industrial incomes, they recommended that the point of exemption should be limited to £100 a year; and on incomes arising from property, to £50. Again—that the rates on schedules A and C should be, as before, 7*d.* in the pound; on B, D, and E, 3½*d.* They took the estimate on the profits of farmers, not at one-half the rent, as heretofore, but at one-third; and the consequence would be, that, with the reduction of the duty, the farmers would pay £156,000, exactly one-half of what they paid under the existing rate. The total amount, including the modest sum of £60,000 for Ireland, he calculated at £5,421,000. The right honourable gentleman next referred to the naval estimates, which it was proposed to increase, though without any reference to the question of peace or war. He then touched on the subject of administrative reform—a direction in which he conceived that considerable retrenchment was practicable, without in the least impairing the efficiency of the public service. The government hoped to effect some valuable results in that quarter. They also contemplated bringing the entire revenue of the country under the control of parliament, and terminating the exchequer law commission. He advocated the impost of a house-tax, and suggested that its basis be extended to houses rated at not less than £10 a year. It was soon evident that, with such a merciless critic as Mr. Gladstone, the budget had no chance. It was debated four nights. The division was—ayes, 286; noes, 305: thus giving a majority, against the government, of 19. The result was, that, on the next evening, ministers announced that they had resigned; that the Earl of Aberdeen had been sent for, to form a government; and that the Derby-Disraeli administration had ceased to exist.

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## CHAPTER. V.

### THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY.

ON the 27th of December Lord Aberdeen met parliament, and delivered a programme more liberal than had been expected from his antecedents. As the head of the Peelites, he had succeeded in forming a coalition ministry, which appeared to possess the elements of durability and strength. His colleagues were—Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary; the Earl of Clarendon, Foreign Secretary; Colonial, the Duke of Newcastle; Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Granville, President of the Council; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War; Sir C. Wood, President of the Board of Control; First Commissioner of Public Works, Sir W. Molesworth; leader of the House of Commons, Lord John Russell. The Marquis of Lansdowne also had a seat in the cabinet, without office. An abler administration certainly had not been seen in England for some time past.

Let us glance at some of the leading characters. Of Lord Aberdeen we have already spoken. He was a man to whose wisdom justice was rarely done, as he was slow of speech, and with difficulty aroused. Mr. Kinglake writes—"Lord Aberdeen's hatred of war was so honestly and piously entertained, and was, at the same time, so excessive and self-defeating, that, in one point of view, it had the



character of a virtue; and, in another, it was more like a disease. His feelings, no less than his opinions, turned him against all war; but against a war with Russia he was biassed by the impressions of his early life, by the relations of mutual esteem which had long subsisted between the Emperor Nicholas and himself, and, perhaps, by a dim foresight of the perils which might be brought upon Europe by a forcible breaking-up of the ties established by the congress of Vienna, and riveted by the peace of Paris. In an early stage of the dispute, he resolved that he would not remain at the head of government unless he could maintain peace; and he anxiously sought to choose a moment for making his stand against the further progress towards war. Far from wishing to prolong his power, he was always labouring to make out when, and on what ground, he could lay down the burden which oppressed him. Every day he passed his sure hour and a-half in the Foreign Office, and came away more and more anxious, perhaps, but without growing more clear-sighted. If he could ever have found the point where the road to peace diverged from the road to war, he would instantly have declared for peace; and, failing to carry the government with him, would have joyfully resigned office, and, for his deliverance, would have offered up thanksgiving to Heaven. But his intellect, though not without high quality in it, was deficient in clearness and force. In troubled times it did not yield him light enough to walk by; and it had not the propelling power which was needed for pushing him into opportune action. In politics, though not in matters of faith, he wanted the sacred impulse, which his kirk is accustomed to call the word of quickening."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as we have already said, is Sir Robert Peel's most distinguished disciple, William Ewart Gladstone. Born in 1809, at Liverpool, where his father was a wealthy merchant, he was educated at Eton, and at Christchurch College, Oxford. After the completion of his academical studies, he passed a short time in continental travel. He entered parliament in 1832, as the representative of Newark, then under the patronage of the anti-reform Duke of Newcastle. His mercantile origin, college successes, and remarkable business habits, are said to have recalled to old members of the House the early career of Sir Robert Peel: and Sir Robert himself was not slow to discover and appreciate the value of this new and important recruit to the Conservative ranks; for, on his accession to the premiership, after the dissolution of parliament in 1835, he appointed him, successively, a Lord of the Treasury, and then Under-Secretary for the Colonies. Mr. Gladstone returned, in the spring of that year, with his party to the opposition benches until September, 1841, when he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and a Privy Councillor; and on him it devolved to explain and defend, in the House of Commons, the commercial policy of his government, of which he was already a chief stay. Of popular and conciliatory manners; a ready and self-possessed debater; gifted with a marvellous flow of language, and well versed in commercial affairs, he rendered himself particularly acceptable to mercantile men. In May, 1843, Mr. Gladstone became the head of his department. At this time, also, he had become famous by his books—*Church Principles considered in their Results*, and *The State in its Relations with the Church*. In his notice of this work, in the *Edinburgh Review*, Mr. Macaulay makes the following allusion to the author:—"Mr. Gladstone is a young man of unblemished character, and of distinguished parliamentary talents. It would not be at all strange if he were one of the most unpopular men in England; but we believe that we do him but justice, when we say that his abilities and demeanour have attained him the respect and good-will of all parties."

In January, 1845, Mr. Gladstone resigned office, in consequence of a difference of opinion with his government with regard to the Maynooth grant. He voted first in its favour, then against it; and when out of office, and the government announced its intention to increase that grant, he voted again in its favour. Equally inconsistent was his conduct with regard to the Jewish question, which he first opposed, and then supported. In the early part of 1845, Mr. Gladstone published



his *Remarks on Recent Commercial Legislation*, exhibiting, in detail, the beneficial working of the tariff of 1842. But this adhesion to free-trade principles led to his losing his seat for Newark, and to his being out of parliament in 1846. At the general election of 1847, however, Mr. Gladstone was fully compensated for this temporary exclusion from the House of Commons, by becoming one of the representatives of the University of Oxford. How entirely he appreciated the honour, may be judged from the dedication to his *alma mater* of his great work on Homer, in the following terms:—"Inscribed to the University of Oxford—tried, and not found wanting through the vicissitudes of a thousand years—in the belief that she is providentially designed to be a fountain of blessings, spiritual, social, and intellectual, to this and other countries, to the present and future times; and in the hope that the temper of these pages may be found not alien from her own." In the parliament, in which he now appeared in the first ranks, he managed to displease, alternately, both sections of his supporters: the Liberals, by his opposition speech on university reform, and his speech on Mr. Disraeli's motion for the relief of the agricultural interests; and the Conservatives, by declining to take office with Lord Derby in 1851, and his exposure of the details of Mr. Disraeli's budget in 1852. He was also strenuously, but unsuccessfully, opposed in the representation of Oxford University. But until a later time than that to which we refer, his talents and his character always gained for him an immense majority. His pamphlet on the Neapolitan dungeons, of which we have already written, created for him great popularity; and when the coalition cabinet was formed, all felt that, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was the right man in the right place.

Let us here give Mr. Kinglake's portrait. He says—"But there was another member of the cabinet who was supposed to hold war in deep abhorrence. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer; and since he was, by virtue of his office, the appointed guardian of the public purse, those pure and lofty principles which made him cling to peace, were reinforced by an official sense of the harm which war inflicts by its costliness. Now it happened that, if he was famous for the splendour of his eloquence, for his unaffected piety, and his blameless life, he was celebrated, far and wide, for a more than common liveliness of conscience. He had once imagined it to be his duty to quit a government, and to burst through strong ties of friendship and gratitude, by reason of a thin shade of difference on the subject of white or brown sugar. It was believed, that if he was to commit even a little sin, or to imagine an evil thought, he would instantly arraign himself before the dread tribunal which awaited him in his own bosom; and that his intellect being subtle and microscopic, and delighting in casuistry and exaggeration, he would be likely to give his soul a very harsh trial, and to treat himself as a great criminal for faults too minute to be visible to the naked eyes of laymen. His friends lived in dread of his virtues, as tending to make him whimsical and unstable; and the practical politicians, conceiving that he was not to be depended upon for party purposes, and was bent upon none but lofty objects, used to call him, behind his back, a good man—a good man in the worst sense of that term. In 1853, it seemed only too probable that he might quit office upon an infinitely slight suspicion of the warlike tendency of the government. But what appeared certain was, that if, upon the vital question of peace or war, the government should depart, by even a hair's breadth, from the right path, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would instantly refuse to be a partaker of their faults. He—and he before all other men—stood charged to give the alarm of danger; and there seemed to be no particle of ground for fearing that, like the Prime Minister, he would drift. The honour, watchfulness, and alacrity of his conscience, and his power of detecting small germs of evil, led the world to think it impossible that he could be moving for months in a wrong course without knowing it."

Of Sir James Graham we have previously written. Lord John Russell, also, we have already described.

The Duke of Newcastle—an unfortunate man through life—was not one of the



least able of the coalition ministry. As Lord Lincoln, he had entered parliament as member for South Nottinghamshire, in the very year that he attained his majority: and when Sir Robert Peel hastened from Rome to form a short-lived administration, he appointed the young M.P. one of the Lords of the Treasury. When, a few years after, under happier auspices, Sir Robert returned to power, the Earl of Lincoln was appointed First Commissioner of Woods and Forests; and, as no complaints were ever made of him in that capacity, we may safely conclude that his duties were discharged with unobtrusive but efficient regularity. In the financial policy of his leader he warmly concurred; and the consequence was, that when, upon the reconstruction of the cabinet, he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and had to appeal to the electors who had already four times chosen him as their parliamentary representative, the South Notts Protection Society requested him to resign; and even his father took the field against him. Lord Lincoln, however, prepared for the contest, and issued an explanatory address as follows:—

“I cannot, within the limits of an address, enter into the details of so large and comprehensive a scheme of commercial policy as that lately laid before the House of Commons. This much, however, I am bound, in candour, when addressing an agricultural constituency, to say—that on the question of the corn-laws my opinions are changed. In 1841, honestly, and not from any party motive, I advocated measures for what is now called ‘protection of native industry.’ Mature reflection; constant and anxious consideration of the subject; attention, year after year, to the arguments brought forward in the House on one side and the other; above all, the experience of the last four years, have convinced me, not that the corn-laws alone should be abolished, but that our whole commercial system should be subjected to a great, a bold, and a comprehensive revision.

“This change of opinion has not come upon me suddenly. Three years ago my confidence in the principles of protection was greatly shaken: last year I felt that they had become indefensible. Still, looking to the mischief of any violent shock to party attachment (not for the sake of the leaders of party, but for the sake of public confidence), and conscious of the peculiar circumstances under which the present parliament was elected, I felt anxious that, if possible, this great but inevitable change should be postponed till after the next dissolution of parliament. This, however, I had finally resolved—that I would never again appear before you on the hustings without an express stipulation that I should be free to vote for a repeal of the corn-laws.

“But in the autumn of last year, it pleased Providence to visit our country, and more especially the sister island, with an infliction which some have ventured to doubt—nay, even to deride; but the alarming extent of which, I greatly fear, has yet to be unfolded. Thus the desires of politicians have been frustrated—the calculations of statesmen have been thwarted. What would have been praiseworthy caution and deference to existing circumstances in times of abundance and prosperity, would now be culpable neglect, or a slavish submission to the fear of reproach and personal odium.

“The government has been compelled, by an imperative sense of duty, to bring forward, at once, a final settlement of these questions; for none but a final settlement—no half-measures, no temporary expedients—could ever again be entertained; and I am prepared to adopt my full share of the responsibility which must attach to the members of a government which has endeavoured to reconcile, in a great and comprehensive scheme, the various but not conflicting interests of the country.”

His lordship’s appeal was in vain. He was defeated by a large majority, and took refuge in the Falkirk burghs. During the time that his lordship remained in the House of Commons, he voted with the Peel party on all important occasions; and in January, 1851, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the dukedom of Newcastle, and took his seat in the House of Lords. He followed Lord Aberdeen in his opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.



Another duke—his grace of Argyle—is also a colleague in the Aberdeen cabinet. Born in 1823, he early evinced capacity for public life. At the age of nineteen, he published a pamphlet in favour of the claims put forward by the church of Scotland on the question of the veto. He took his seat in the House of Lords on his father's death, in 1847; and in May of the following year delivered his first speech, on the motion for the second reading of the bill for admitting Jews to parliament. His speech, we are told, made a great impression on the House, presenting, as it did, a defence of the measure on religious rather than political grounds. He commenced by disclaiming all sympathy with certain theories that had been put forth—by none more effectually than by Mr. Macaulay—that Christianity had nothing to do with making the laws of a country. He showed, in a strain of clear argument, enforced by an easy-flowing and natural eloquence, that Christianity lay at the root of all that was just, and right, and true; and that the nation which systematically excluded Christianity from its laws must end in speedy ruin. At the same time he could not agree with the opponents of the measure, that Christianity consisted in a mere set of forms and symbols, compliance with which should secure, and refusal exclude, admission to the legislature. On the contrary, he maintained that Christianity would be best manifested by abolishing all invidious distinctions which excluded any citizens from obtaining the offices and distinctions of the state, and by maintaining the right of the constituencies of the empire to their free choice of whatever representative they pleased to select. The speech was received with great favour by the House, and the duke was at once hailed as one of its most promising ornaments. As a free-trader the duke was earnest and consistent. His scientific acquirements, also, must not be omitted. He has devoted a large share of his time to the study of practical geology, and with considerable success. On the creation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting at Edinburgh, he read a paper on the subject, which excited great attention; and it is understood that he has himself made discoveries of some valuable minerals on his extensive but rocky domains. His literary taste is also highly spoken of; and in the characteristics which so honourably distinguish the men of rank of the present day—that of giving lectures to the working classes—he has not been backward. The Tories sneered at the duke on account of his youth, his diminutive stature, his red hair; but he was a gain to the ministry nevertheless.

In the accession of Sir William Molesworth to office, the public saw a pledge, on the part of the Earl of Aberdeen, to the friends of progressive reform. As an advanced reformer, and *London Quarterly* reviewer, the character of Sir William for talent and sincerity stood high. Entering parliament at the first election after the passing of the Reform Act, it was not long before he distinguished himself as one of the little band of “philosophical Radicals,” composed of the late James Mill, Mr. Grote, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Charles Buller, Mr. Leader, and others, with whose names the public were more or less familiar. Among the more important measures advocated by these gentlemen, were—vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, abolition of the property qualification for members of parliament, a further extension of the electoral franchise, reform of the House of Lords, free trade, retrenchment, separation of church and state, municipal corporation reform, repeal of the taxes on knowledge, and a sweeping reform in the administration of the colonies. The opinions of the philosophical Radicals on all these questions had an able exponent in the *London Review*, a newly-established quarterly; the first number of which appeared in May, 1835, under the editorship in chief of Sir William, who was also the principal proprietor. A year afterwards, the *Westminster* came into possession of the same proprietary by purchase. From that time the two reviews were merged into one—the *London and Westminster Review*; and, under that title, were published for several years, until, upon the secession of the right honourable baronet, the old title of *Westminster* was resumed. The contributions of Sir William to this department of periodical literature were numerous and



characterised by great vigour of thought, breadth of liberality, and clear and forcible expression. Having alarmed, by his Radical opinions, his Cornish constituency, he successively represented Leeds and Southwark. At the general election in 1841, Sir William Molesworth retired from parliament and from public life for a short interval, a portion of which he occupied in continental travels, and in ushering into the world a new edition of the works of Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury. Sir William was opposed to what is known as the Palmerston policy. Gifted with inexhaustible patience, indomitable application, great keenness of perception, and a prodigious memory, the right honourable baronet occupied a high position in the House of Commons; and his comparatively early death was mourned by all true Liberals all over the land.

Mr. Sidney Herbert (afterwards known as Lord Herbert, and universally lamented when he fell a victim to his zeal in the discharge of public and official duty) was one of the most promising, and certainly, as regards appearance, one of the most prepossessing-looking men in the new ministry. Mr. Herbert sat in the House of Commons as member for the county of Wilts, from the year 1832, beginning public life as a Conservative, and a follower of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he faithfully and steadily adhered until his death. Afterwards he acted with those members of the House of Commons known as the Peelite section. As a debater, the right honourable gentleman rose far above the ordinary level of the orators of the senate. His style of speaking was smooth and correct, always pleasing, and set off with the polished manners and address of a well-educated English gentleman. His speeches were smart and clever, and were very successful in the presentation of recognised truths in the most acceptable point of view. But his *forte* was in his administrative capacity, which was considerable, and justified his selection for office by Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen. Outside parliament, Mr. Sidney Herbert distinguished himself by his efforts in favour of educating the poor in the principles of the established church. He also laboured most assiduously to extend the sphere of operations, and to increase the usefulness, of that church in our colonial possessions. He was honourably known to the public, in connection with his amiable lady (daughter of Major-General A'Court), by liberal benefactions to charitable objects, and the active part he took in alleviating the distressed condition of the needlewomen and servant classes of the metropolis, and promoting their emigration to Australia. He was an accomplished scholar, a man of refined taste, and a munificent patron of the arts: and near his princely seat, at Wilton, Salisbury, was erected, in 1843, at his sole expense, a beautiful Romanesque or Lombardic church, the finest specimen of that style of architecture in England. Well did he deserve the peerage to which he was raised in 1860.

The most important post in this new ministry—the post with which the name of Palmerston had hitherto been connected—that of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was held by the Earl of Clarendon. As the Hon. Mr. Villiers, he was accredited Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid, by Earl Grey, in 1833. His residence in Spain, in a diplomatic capacity, continued during the greater part of the sanguinary warfare which raged in that unfortunate country, between the constitutional, or queen's party (known by the term *Christinas*), and the adherents of the pretender, Don Carlos. His position there was one of extreme difficulty and delicacy, and required the display of tact and ability of no ordinary character. He had to maintain relations on a friendly footing with a Court the subject of divided councils and constantly fluctuating opinions. All the wisdom, energy, and self-reliance which the English minister possessed, was called into vigorous exercise as the representative of the only one of the contracting powers which seemed disposed to fulfil the conditions of the quadruple treaty: for France, jealous of English influence in the Peninsula, contributed only promises; and Portugal, crippled in its resources, and just emerging from civil war, could furnish but little effective aid. Whilst at Madrid, he successfully negotiated a treaty with Spain for the more effectual abolition of the slave-trade in the British



colonies—a measure to which the government of Spain had, until then, steadily refused to listen. The services of Mr. Villiers were approved by government. He was made a G.C.B.; and, in a debate upon our foreign policy in 1837, Lord Palmerston thus bore testimony to his merits:—

“This,” said he, “brings me to Spain; and how do we stand there? Our relations with Spain are greatly improved. I am asked whether we have gained any influence there? I answer, yes; and, as a proof of it, I point to the treaty which we have concluded with that power for the suppression of the slave-trade—an act of humanity and justice which ought to have been accomplished long since, but which no power of diplomacy on the part of England had been able to extract from the former government of Spain. And whereas, in the time of Ferdinand, the influence of Russia was paramount at Madrid, Great Britain is now regarded in Spain with those sentiments of friendship and esteem which are due to our good faith, and to our strict adherence to treaties and engagements. I am bound to say, that the respect which Spain has for this country, is very much owing to the able and judicious conduct of the representative of the British government at Madrid. The high character which that minister has personally established, and the good faith which the British government has deserved in its dealings, have indeed rendered the character of an Englishman a passport through Spain.”

At the commencement of the year 1839, on the death of his uncle, Mr. Villiers quitted Madrid, and returned to England; and took his seat in the House of Lords as Earl Clarendon. On the 27th of July following, the Marquis of Londonderry rose in his place in parliament, and put some questions with regard to certain papers laid upon the table, relating to the affairs of Spain, and the communications which had been interchanged between her majesty's ministers and the three northern powers, for the purpose of procuring a mitigation of the atrocious manner in which the civil war in that country had been carried on, and even the eventual termination of hostilities. These overtures, it seems, had issued in no practical result; and the noble marquis, who indulged in some severe strictures in the course of his speech, desired to know the reason of their failure. The strictures of the noble marquis elicited a speech from the Earl of Clarendon, which at once established him as one of the most accomplished debaters in the House. On another occasion, his lordship made such a speech, that as soon as it reached Spain, a gold medal was struck in his honour, for this additional service to the cause of constitutional freedom in that country. A meeting was also held at the house of General Quiroga, at which the oration was ordered to be translated into the Spanish language, and put into the most extensive circulation; and, subsequently, it was determined to present the noble earl with a valuable work of art.

In 1839, the Earl of Clarendon accepted the office of Lord Privy Seal in the Melbourne cabinet; and, in 1840, was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He continued to be a cabinet minister until the retirement of the Whigs, and the advent of Sir Robert Peel, in 1841. Having, at all times, been favourable to the principles of free trade, the noble earl gave the commercial policy of the new government a cordial and hearty support: and when, in 1845, that crowning act of legislation—the repeal of the corn-laws—took place, he accompanied his vote for the measure with a speech of great ability and power. On the return of the Liberals to parliament in 1847, with Lord John Russell at their head, the Earl of Clarendon was entrusted with the government of Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant; and entered upon his viceroyalty under not the most encouraging auspices. Famine, pestilence, and sedition stalked through the land. The situation of Ireland was critical, and demanded incessant watchfulness, unrelaxing firmness, and great prudence, on the part of the executive government; and in none of these respects was the earl found wanting. How firm and impartial he was, is evidenced by his dismissal of the Earl of Roden from the commission of the peace, for his Orange partisanship. Lord Derby raised a debate on the



subject in the Lords; but the general feeling was, that the conduct of Earl Clarendon was wise and judicious, and that he deserved the vacant ribbon of the Garter, which, about that time, was conferred on him: and, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, under Lord Aberdeen, his conduct was equally satisfactory. "Short as has yet been his term of office," writes a friendly critic, in 1853, "we have had the satisfaction of seeing him engaged in amicable intercession with foreign potentates, on behalf of oppressed peoples. The recent iniquitous sequestrations of the property of Sardinian citizens by the Austrian authorities in Lombardy, have, at the request of the Sardinian government, drawn forth strong representations from the noble earl to the cabinet of Vienna upon the subject. He also followed up the remonstrance of his predecessors to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in favour of the 'Madias, condemned to suffer a long term of imprisonment for conscience' sake; but now at length, through the intervention of the English government, happily set free."

Earl Granville commenced public life in 1837, when he was returned as member of parliament for Morpeth. His lordship did not distinguish himself in the House of Commons; and, in fact, a seat there did not seem to be much to his taste, as he resigned it in 1840, to proceed as an *attaché* to the Russian embassy. At the general election, however, for 1841, he was returned for the borough of Stafford, and, on one or two occasions, addressed the House, but with little effect. In 1846, his father died, and he was called to the upper House. When the Whig ministry was formed, in 1846, Lord Granville received an appointment, though one that was rather suited to his rank than to the talents that he has since displayed. He was attached to her majesty's household, as Master of the Buckhounds. In 1848, he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Several sarcasms were directed against this appointment; and the opposition journals made themselves merry at the facility with which a Master of the Buckhounds could be manufactured into an officer requiring extensive acquaintance with the trade and commerce of the country. During his tenure of office the Great Exhibition was held in Hyde Park; and, in contributing to its success, his lordship stands second, and but second, to the late Prince Albert. When the great event was over, and when it was determined by the Parisian authorities, in the autumn of 1851, to invite the municipal authorities of London, and the commissioners of the Exhibition, to a series of festivities, in return for the hospitality which had been shown to their countrymen in England, Earl Granville was very properly recognised as the head of the commissioners; and returned thanks at the grand banquet given at the Hôtel de Ville, in the name of his colleagues, for the honour done to them, in a French speech, which excited the admiration of the Parisians themselves, from the classical points of its idiom and its accent. It was admitted—and the admission may be taken as high praise from such fastidious critics—that his lordship might well have passed for a native critic, reared in the first circles of Parisian society. When, in the winter of 1851, Lord Palmerston resigned, Earl Granville was selected by Lord John Russell to fill the vacant post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and it speaks well for his lordship, that his appointment to this responsible position at a period of extraordinary difficulty in our relations with several foreign countries, was received by the people, not only without disappointment, but with positive respect and approbation. His term of office was, in this position, too short to allow him to fix the impress of his policy upon our foreign relations; for the ministry of which he formed a part, left Downing Street in the spring of the following year. If his lordship makes no pretensions to be called an orator, he is conspicuous for his administrative abilities, his sound sense, and his readiness of resource.

Sir Charles Wood (now Lord Halifax) formed an indispensable member of every Liberal administration, much to the surprise of strangers, who listened to his jerking and unimpressive style of speaking in parliament. The mystery was solved when it was understood that, in 1829, he married Mary, the ninth child of the late,



and sister of the present, Earl Grey. His first introduction to official life was in 1830, when his father-in-law, in accepting the office of Prime Minister, appointed him his private secretary. In 1832, he became one of the Secretaries of the Treasury: then he became Secretary to the Admiralty; and as, in this position, he showed some degree of administrative skill, no little surprise was felt when, in 1839, Sir Charles, following the lead of his brother-in-law, Lord Howick, resigned his appointment, and left the Whig ministry. In 1846, we find Sir Charles Chancellor of the Exchequer. In this capacity he did not shine; but it must be remembered that he had many difficulties to contend with; and that, as the finance minister of a party not very strong, he was fettered in every way. In his capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles had to eat no small amount of humble pie; his budgets being altered and omitted—often in spite of his vehement opposition—just as it suited the House of Commons' majority: and thus Sir Charles held on till 1852, when he retired with his party. The borough of Great Grimsby, in the year 1826, first introduced the honourable member to a seat in parliament. In 1831, he was returned for Wareham. The following year he was returned, at the head of the poll, for Halifax, which borough he represented till he became a peer. An admirer writes—"Sir Charles Wood is always listened to with great attention in the House. This does not arise from any graces of oratory, in which respect nature has been rather niggardly to him. His elocution is not graceful; his method is not clear; his voice is not good. He evidently comprehends a subject in his own mind better than he can explain it to others; and hence arises a repetition and redundancy of remarks that obscure the subject they are meant to illustrate. But those who will take the trouble to hear, with these defects, are often repaid by the breadth and comprehensiveness of his views, the perfect mastery of the subject which he has evidently attained, and a felicitous knack he has of illustrating his subject by an analogy which at once strikes by its justness, and amuses by its homeliness. In this respect, though in few others, he resembles Mr. Cobden. He has neither his fluency of speech, his short, nervous, idiomatic phrase, nor that marvellous grasp of his subject which the anti-corn-law leader possesses; but, like him, he delights in finding illustrations and analogies on subjects that are drawn from common life, and which, therefore, come home to the feelings of every one of his audience."

The ministry must have been strong in administrative and oratorical talent. We have not indicated all its strength. To it the Marquis of Lansdowne (the Nestor of the Whigs) lent the sanction of his great talents, his high character, his illustrious name. Born in 1780, he had seen much of political life and political men. From Westminster, where his contemporaries were the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Ashburton, and others, the young nobleman proceeded to Edinburgh; thence to Cambridge; and set out with Dumont as a companion for the tour of the continent. But the peace of Amiens was soon broken, and he had to return home, and take his seat for the family borough of Calne, in 1801. Lord Henry Petty (for such was his title) then sided with the opposition, and gained great applause by his speech in favour of the prosecution of Lord Melville. Under Mr. Fox he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was returned as M.P. for Cambridge University, in 1806, by a considerable majority over Lords Althorpe and Palmerston—the latter being at the bottom of the poll. The consistent advocacy of the Catholic claims cost Lord Henry Petty, not merely his office, but his seat—the university replacing him by Sir Vicary Gibbs, who only obtained the honour by a majority of two over Lord Palmerston, who was again a candidate. Lord Petty, however, was provided, by the Duke of Bedford, with a seat for a small borough in Cornwall, which he continued to represent till his elevation to the House of Peers; which event took place in 1809. His lordship continued in opposition until 1827, when he joined the administration of Mr. Canning, as Home Secretary. Under the Duke of Wellington, the Liverpool cabinet returned to office, and Lord Lansdowne became the leader of the opposition in the House of Lords. He was Lord



President of the Council in the Whig ministry, from November, 1830, to November, 1834; from April, 1835, to September, 1841; and again in July, 1846: and, in this capacity, his labours on behalf of national education were unwearied. In 1852, his lordship took a dignified farewell of official life, in language which produced a great impression on all who heard it. As a consistent public man, Lord Lansdowne occupied the highest place. He began life a Liberal, when liberalism was unpopular: and he remained such to the day of his death. But his lordship was something more. Thrown, in early life, amongst men of eminence in literature, science, and art, he imbibed a love of letters, and a respect for genius, which made it his happiness and pride to gather round him those who possessed the power of ministering to his intellectual disposition; and there were few amongst contemporary artists who did not receive from him assistance and encouragement. His lordship, though rather below than above the middle height, had a dignified bearing and pleasant countenance. To the last he wore the blue coat and buff waistcoat—the Whig colours—familiarised to the public by the cover of the *Edinburgh Review*. When his lordship addressed the House, his tones, if not sweet, were persuasive, and his voice, if not clear, impressive. In his diction he displayed an accurate, finished education; and though he was scarcely ever eloquent, he affected the understanding of his audience. He died ripe in years and honour.

Of Lord Cranworth, the Lord Chancellor, little can be said, save that, in his career, he furnished another instance that the highest prizes in the profession may be won without either very profound learning or brilliant abilities. Born in 1790, he received his education at the grammar-school of Bury St. Edmund's, of which town he was afterwards Recorder. Mr. Rolfe (for such was his name) went to Cambridge, and took his degree in 1812; his name appearing sixteenth in the list of wranglers for that year. In 1816, he was called to the bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. In May, 1835, he came into office as Solicitor-general. In 1839, he was made one of the barons of the Exchequer, and then succeeded Sir James Wigram as Vice-Chancellor. Then he became one of the lords justices of the Court of Appeal; and, on the resignation of Lord St. Leonard, he received the great seal. As his lordship was never distinguished as a debater, and as, since he became a member of the upper House, he seldom spoke on any subjects but those affecting the amendment of the law, it is clear he was little gain to the Aberdeen administration.

The same remark does not apply to the veteran Home Secretary. Perhaps no higher tribute was ever paid to Lord Palmerston's talents, than in the circumstance that he, a man without a party—without a follower it may be said—should yet be invited by his old antagonist and rival, and by the statesman who had so lately affronted him by driving him from the cabinet, to resume his seat at her majesty's council board, in the capacity of one of the leading ministers of the crown. As he was excluded from his old post, he finally chose the Home Office, where his sanitary measures, and his suppression of the smoke nuisance, and his putting down the betting nuisance, showed that no public duty came amiss to him; and that, in the language of Scripture, "whatever his hand found to do, that he did with all his might." After a short time he resigned; but, in the course of a few days, again resumed office. In explaining this step, his lordship said that it had something to do with home politics. Mr. Kinglake tells us it was no such thing. It was in consequence of a hitch between France and England, respecting Turkey and Russia.

Here we stop to give Mr. Kinglake's character of Lord Palmerston, as the minister who went his own way. "He was supposed to be under a kind of ostracism. He had not been banished from England, nor even from the cabinet; but, holding office under a Prime Minister whose views upon foreign policy were much opposed to his own, and relegated to duties connected with the peaceful administration of justice—it seemed, to the eye of the common observer, that



for the time he was annulled: and the humorous stories which floated about Whitehall, went to show that the deposed lord of foreign affairs had consented to forget his former greatness, and to accept his Home Office duties in a spirit of half-cynical, half-joyous disdain, but without the least discontent. And, in truth, he had no ground for ill-humour. In politics he was without vanity. What he cared for was power, and power he had. Indeed, circumstanced as he then was, he must have known that one of the main conditions of his strength was, the general belief that he had none. The light of the past makes it easy to see, that the expedient of trying to tether him down in the Home Office, would alleviate his responsibility, and increase his real power. To those who know anything of Lord Palmerston's intellectual power—of his boldness—of his best concentrated energy—his instinct for understanding the collective mind of a body of men, and of a whole nation—and, above all, his firm robust will; nay, even to those who only know of his daring achievements—achievements half peaceful, half warlike, half righteous, half violent, in many lands and on many a sea—the notion of causing him to be subordinated to Lord Aberdeen in foreign affairs, seems hardly more sound than a scheme providing that the greater shall be contained in the less. Statesmen on the continent would easily understand this, for they had lived much under the weight of his strenuous nature; but, at that time, he had not been called upon to apply his energies to the domestic affairs of England. Besides, he had been more seen in his own country than abroad; and for that very reason he was less known, because there was much upon the outside which tended to mask his real nature. His partly Celtic blood, and perhaps, too, in early life, his boyish consciousness of power, had given him a certain elation of manner and bearing, which kept him for a long time out of the good graces of the more fastidious part of the English world. The defect was toned down by age, for it lay upon the surface only; and, in his inner nature, there was nothing neither vulgar nor unduly pretending. Still the defect made people slow—made them take forty years—to recognise the full measure of his intellectual strength. Moreover, the English had so imperfect a knowledge of the stress which he had long been putting upon foreign governments, that the more outward signs which he gave to his countrymen at home—his frank speech, his off-hand manner, his ready banter, his kind, joyous, beaming eyes—were enough to prevent them from accustoming themselves to look upon him as a man of stern purpose.

"He was not a man who would come to a subject with which he was dealing for the first time, with any great store of preconceived opinions; but he wrote so strenuously—he always, they say, wrote standing—and was apt to be so much struck with the cogency of his own arguments, that by the mere process of framing despatches, he wrought himself into strong convictions, or rather, perhaps, into strong resolves; and he clung to those with such a lasting tenacity, that if he had been a solemn austere personage, the world would have accused him of pedantry. Like most gifted men who evolve their thoughts with their pen, he was very accurate. Of every subject which he handled gravely, he had a tight iron grasp. Without being inflexible, his will, it has already been said, was powerful; and it swung with a great momentum in one direction, till, for some good and sound reason, it turned and swung in another. He pursued one object at a time, without being distracted by other game. All that was fanciful, or for any reason impractical—all that was the least bit too high for him, or the least bit too deep for him—all that lay, though only by a little, beyond the immediate future with which he was dealing, he utterly drove out of his mind; and his energies, condensed for the time upon some object to which they could be applied with effect, were brought to bear upon it with all their full volume and power. So, during the whole period of his reign at the Foreign Office, Lord Palmerston's method had been to be very strenuous in the pursuit of the objects which might be needing care at any given time, without suffering himself to be embarrassed by what men call a comprehensive view of our foreign policy; and although it was, no doubt, his concentrative



habit of mind, and his stirring temperament which brought him into this course of action, he was much supported in it by the people at home; for when no enterprise is on foot, the bulk of the English are prone to be careless of the friendship of foreign states, and are often much pleased when they are told that, by reason of the activity of their Foreign Secretary, they are without an ally in Europe." Mr. Kinglake then shows that Louis Napoleon and his lordship, in his utter isolation, were natural allies. So when the czar began to encroach upon the sultan, there was nothing that could so completely meet Lord Palmerston's wish as an alliance between the two western powers, which should toss France headlong into the English policy of upholding the Ottoman empire. His lordship was thus the most prominent member of Lord Aberdeen's cabinet, as early, writes Mr. Kinglake, as the spring of 1853. He adds—

"Lord Palmerston's plan of masking the warlike tendency of the government, was an application to politics of an ingenious contrivance, which the Parisians used to employ in some of their street engagements with the soldiery: the contrivance was called a live barricade. A body of the insurgents would seize the mayor of the arrondissement, and a priest (if they could get one), and also one or two respectable bankers devoted to the cause of peace and order. These prisoners, each forced to walk arm-in-arm between able-bodied combatants, were marched in front of a body of insurgents, which boldly advanced towards a spot where a battalion of infantry might be drawn up in close column of companies; but when they got to hailing distance, one of the insurgents, gifted with a loud voice, would shout out to the troops—"Soldiers! respect the cause of order! Don't fire on Mr. Mayor! Respect property. Don't level your country's muskets at one who is a man and a brother, and also a respectable banker! Soldiers! for the love of God don't imbrue your hands in the blood of this holy priest!" Confused by this appeal, and shrinking, as was natural, from the duty of killing peaceful citizens, the battalion would hesitate; and, meantime, the column of the insurgents, covered always by its live barricade, would rapidly advance and crowd in upon the battalion, and break its structure, and ruin it. It was thus that Lord Palmerston had the skill to protrude Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone, and keep them standing forward in the van of a ministry which was bringing the country into war. No one could assail Lord Palmerston's policy without striking at him through men whose conscientious attachment to the cause of peace was beyond cavil." It thus seems Lord Palmerston was Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary at once.

The first session of the new cabinet closed peacefully. It had been a laborious one, and was not prorogued till August 29th. Lord John Russell had attempted, unsuccessfully, the relief of the Jews. A tendency towards war and warlike demonstrations was apparent. The government had carried the Naval Coast Volunteers Bill—an important measure for the establishment of a naval militia, based upon the principle of voluntary enlistment. In the month of June, a military encampment was formed at Chobham, in Surrey, for the purpose of exercising the troops in military evolutions, and inuring them to the hardships of actual service. On the 11th of August, there was a grand naval review of the fleet at Spithead by her majesty. The spectacle was a grand one; the squadron assembled consisting of twenty-five ships of war—six of the line, propelled by steam; three sailing ships of the line; and sixteen steam-frigates and sloops. This force carried 1,076 guns; nearly 10,000 men; and was moved by a steam power nominally of 9,680 horses, but really of double that amount. During the progress of the year, the attention of parliament was frequently drawn to matters connected with the East, and the demands of the Russian emperor on the government of Turkey. The czar thought the pear was ripe. He had proposed to his dear friend, the Earl of Aberdeen, that he should take Turkey, and England Egypt: and now his friend was Premier. Thus everything had a peaceful appearance. The royal speech congratulated the members of both Houses



upon their labours; and referred to the buoyant state of the revenue, and the steady progress of our foreign trade, as proofs of the wisdom of the commercial policy then firmly established. It observed, that her majesty viewed, with deep interest and concern, the serious misunderstanding which had recently arisen between Russia and the Ottoman empire; that the Emperor of the French had united with her majesty in earnest endeavours to reconcile differences, the continuation of which might involve Europe in war; and expressed a hope that an honourable arrangement would be speedily accomplished. The speech also expressed the satisfaction of her majesty at the termination of the war on the frontiers of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and the successful issue of the war in Burmah; and also her thankfulness for the tranquillity which prevailed throughout her dominions, together with that peaceful industry and obedience to the laws which ensure the welfare of all classes of her subjects. All promised well for the future. Mr. Gladstone had carried his budget. Sir C. Wood had reformed the Indian government. The political barometer, to all appearance, pointed fair. For once England's wisest and greatest men had agreed to forget all past differences, and do their best for the nation. Messrs. Cobden and Bright were eloquent on behalf of peace; no war-spirit had been aroused. England was to be envied. Happy was the people that was in such a case.

Yet party feeling ran high. The Conservatives had just been long enough in office to taste its sweets, and they longed to return to it again. In the columns of the *Press*, supposed to be under the especial patronage of Mr. Disraeli, they pursued the coalition ministry in every possible way. They reminded Lord John Russell that he had termed his Premier "an antiquated piece of imbecility." All the discordant utterances of the various members of the cabinet were disinterred, and proclaimed to the world. In his review of the session, the Premier can find only one consolation—

"One triumph, at least, will mark our year,  
The chivalrous Pam has sworn to clear  
The blacks of the London atmosphere,  
And the thanks of the Cockneys earn;  
But the burners find it far from a joke,  
To be driven to fuel that makes no smoke.  
It may be, they say, the law of Coke;  
But it is not the justice of Burn."

Again, on May 15th, we find the following—"Turning the Tables:"—

"There is no body of her majesty's subjects more delighted with the new pastime of turning the tables than the ministers. They made their first experiment on an old table in Downing Street; but it was not large enough to supply places for all; and Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne sat out, eyeing their more youthful rivals, like two venerable and benignant grandames watching the young people. Lord Palmerston was particularly effective: he said there was no novelty in the trick to him, as he had been doing it all his life, and never turned the tables better than he did on Lord John Russell, in February last year. Sir William Molesworth was not very fortunate at first, and it was thought that the table was radically fixed; but after deep meditation, and the due exercise of a very grave volition, the Radical difficulties quite disappeared. The mesmeric quality of Mr. Gladstone was quite remarkable. Under his influence, the table heaved, groaned, shrieked, and, after much agitation, finally split. No electric power was observable in the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen went to sleep during the process, and was roused by a squabble occasioned by Sir James Graham being discovered surreptitiously raising the table with his toe, while innocently looking at the ceiling. This, Lord Palmerston said, was not fair, and he had the right honourable baronet turned out."

In another way, the "Cabinet Card Party" was not bad. Aberdeen, Palmerston, Russell, and Clarendon, are supposed to be playing cards.



"LORD ABERDEEN.—Shuffle, Clarendon.

"LORD CLARENDON.—You are always making me shuffle. (*Cards dealt.*) Its Palmerston's lead.

"LORD PALMERSTON (*aside*).—I wish it was. (*Plays.*) There, my lords, like the princess in the story, I am perpetually dropping diamonds. (*Stily.*) By the way, Aberdeen, they are very fond of diamonds in Russia, if you happen to know such a place.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*sulkily*).—The muckle de'il tak Roosha and all her concerns. (*Plays.*)

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Don't, don't! That's a very wicked way of talking. (*Plays.*) I've followed your lead, Lord Palmerston. (*Lord Clarendon plays.*)

"LORD PALMERSTON.—And won the trick. Its a way people have who do as I bid them. If somebody I know had trumped Mentschikoff's ultimatum with Dundas's broadside, we four should not be sitting in a back office, the first week in September, instead of shooting partridges. However, we won't talk of that, or the Premier will get revoking, to the great damage of Clarendon's peace of mind.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—I wish ye'd just play. Dinna talk so, man.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—While I am talking I am playing, as has been found out once or twice, in the House and elsewhere, my dear Aberdeen. Nobody wastes fewer words than her majesty's present Home Secretary. But holding your tongue is not always the best proof of wisdom.

"LORD CLARENDON.—Very good *prima facie* evidence of it, though, if you have nothing to say.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—*Experto CREDE.* I say, Aberdeen, I have a presentiment that despatches of a peculiarly disagreeable character are on their way. Its your play.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—They canna weel be more disagreeable than your interlocutions, my Lord Palmerston.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Don't put yourself out. There, you see, you've lost the trick with the best card in your hand—a manifest judgment upon you for your ill temper. You never see me put out.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*spitefully*).—Not since Christmas twelvemonth.

"LORD PALMERSTON (*laughing*).—Very good—very good indeed. Who says the old gentleman's memory is failing? Christmas had a February after it too—hadn't it, Russell?

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Never mind. You played the deuce?

"LORD PALMERSTON.—I did, though I ought not to say so. That's lost. John, you are a very steady player, and stick to the rules; but you have no dash in you. I have some notion that you think you play constitutionally, and as Lord Somers would have done in a similar emergency; but your long whist ideas won't do."

Lord Palmerston then suggests that Clarendon should be sent on a special mission to St. Petersburg. The writer, who is of Mr. Kinglake's opinion relative to Lord Palmerston, continues—

"LORD ABERDEEN (*grimly*).—Are ye clean daft? Havn't ye a club? And air ye sic an eediot as not to see what he means? Wha's to do your work while ye are gaun? Is the linen of the Foreign Office to be given to the hizzies of the Home Office to wash, ye born natural?

"LORD PALMERSTON (*carelessly*).—Oh, as to that, any little matter that the clerks did not see their way in, I would put right with the greatest pleasure. Don't study my interest.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—Deed I shan't. We understand. But the climate of Roosha wadna agree with Clarendon—he's na that strong.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Well, I don't know. He was sent to pester the Spaniards, being of the Boring Don family; and, you know—

" "With the addition of a slight pelisse,  
Madrid's and Moscow's climes are of a piece."



"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—There is this objection to parting with Clarendon. I should be expected to go back to the Foreign Office; and this I am not anxious to do. I speak French very well, and with a very pure accent; but I cannot understand what is said in reply, which rather impedes discussion.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—My dear Russell, it would be impossible to spare you from the work which you discharge so admirably. Ah! you took that trick from them very cleverly—very neat *finesse* indeed. No; but I think an arrangement might be made. If Aberdeen does not go out at once, he must go before parliament meets, of course.

"LORD ABERDEEN.—I just see na of course in the matter.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Yes, my dear fellow, you *must* go.

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Why, yes, *he* must go—that's certain.

"LORD CLARENDON.—Certainly, he must go—no help for it.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Well, then, supposing (I merely put it hypothetically) that Aberdeen goes to—to—to bed we'll say, and Clarendon to Russia. I should be very happy to hand my work over to anybody—George Grey, if he is well enough; or your brother, Clarendon—what would he say to it; or Bright if you like. Well, then, give Benjamin Hall his peerage (Lord Badger isn't it?) and let him be Clarendon's nominal successor—he's quite competent to fold and endorse letters.

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—And the real work to be done by —?

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Myself, of course, as a—a Premier (Russell, I'm leading up to the queen). For to that it must come, unless you are determined to smash the coalition.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*dashes down cards, having just assured himself that if he goes on he loses the rub*).—But I'll hear of na sic a thing; and I'll see the hale meenistry at the de'il before I'll consent.

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Very well, my dear fellow—very well. It isn't worth being in a rage about. If we don't settle it, the country will settle it for us; and I, for one, can quite afford to wait. Take up your cards. I thought you never showed your hand if you could help it.

"LORD ABERDEEN (*pétulantly*).—No; I'll not play. I dinna like to be fashed with impaitinencies (*leaves the table*).

"LORD PALMERSTON.—Just as you like. Russell and Clarendon, let's go the odd man.

"LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—Thank you. I'm the odd man of the cabinet already. Let's play fright. (*He takes up the cards, when a knock is heard. MESSENGER enters with despatches from Russia, and the fright becomes earnest*).

In this clever *brochure* there is no detraction of Palmerston's talent or influence. It is clear that, if he were not aiming at the premiership, the time was coming when it would be open to him, and to him alone, to take it. Lookers-on could see this. Against Lord Aberdeen the utmost abuse was directed. His epitaph, as published in the *Press*, was taken from Hood's *Bridge of Sighs* :—

"Speak of him tenderly,  
Gently and humanly;  
All that remains of him  
Now is pure womanly."

Honours having been conferred, in Scotland, on Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, the *Press* alludes to it thus :—

"Of Glasgow and of Perth made free,  
Have Palmerston and Russell been :  
Then Scotland hither turn an e'e,  
And let the work completed be—  
Make us all free of Aberdeen !"



Compliments to Palmerston show his popularity with all parties. Thus the Garter is sent to the Earl of Carlisle. Lord Aberdeen writes—

“ We were all very sorry ; but fate and position,  
Forbade listing you in our late coalition ;  
But the broth's boiling over : the next that we brew,  
May demand the kind care of our new *Cordon bleu*.

“ John Russell's quite pleased, though he looks rather grim,  
To give up a garter we'd thought of for him ;  
But he's booked for the next that a knight may abandon,  
If after next year he's a leg left to stand on.

“ Lord Palmerston says (and its truly provoking,  
That worldling will always keep jeering and joking),  
There'll be nothing in future the garters to fill ;  
For he's smashed all the legs by his Betting-house Bill.

“ But Gladstone retorts, and I must say completely,  
(You know, when he's playful he smiles very sweetly),  
That though of some candidates thus were bereft,  
The garter is meant for the legs that are left.”

But enough of this. The historian may not disregard the trifles which show in what way popular feeling tends. The coalition ministry, apparently so strong, was, in reality, weak. There was little cordiality between them. Its members differed entirely among themselves. Some were for the ballot; others against it: some for reform; others not so. It was the same on all questions. Lord Aberdeen was understood to have quite made up his mind to the departure of the Turk from Europe. Lord Palmerston, on the contrary, always had faith in the future of the Turkish empire. People were puzzled, and annoyed, and disgusted by the spectacle of a ministry thus devoid of common opinions and principles; and Mr. Disraeli was quite justified in declaring that England did not love coalitions. There was much dissatisfaction at finding that the country was governed neither by the Conservative nor Liberal party, and solely from personal and petty causes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer professed, at that time, Conservative opinions; yet, from a personal feeling, he refused to act with the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. So, again, the morbid vanity of Woburn Abbey had to be consulted; and Lord Aberdeen, the dupe of an intrigue to turn out Lord Palmerston, was to be the bond of junction between statesmen whose personal interests and ambitions clashed. It was impossible such a state of things could long continue. Meanwhile, a perplexed sovereign and an amazed people drifted into war, in spite of Lord Aberdeen and the apostles of perpetual peace.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE CRIMEAN WAR.

WE enter on a dark chapter in English history. In 1853, the nation went to war with Russia.

The causes of that war were long in preparation. Up to the time of Peter the Great, the policy and ambition of Russia had been oriental; but from that period she became mixed up in the affairs of Europe. Peter gave her the dominion of the Baltic, and Catherine II. secured her supremacy in the Black Sea. Never losing sight of the suffering Christians in the East, she pushed her way till the partition of Poland established her influence in Europe. By her efforts against Napoleon, she still further increased her power; and, at the time of which we write,



she had afresh renewed it by the way in which she had trampled out the insurrection in Hungary, and saved Austria in her hour of danger. All over Europe Russia was viewed with mistrust, hatred, and fear.

Turkey seemed the natural prey of Russia. To gain possession of Constantinople was supposed to be the hereditary policy of her czars. Russia had also another motive for interfering. Scattered throughout the Turkish empire were some fourteen or fifteen millions of Christians, mostly in connection with the Greek church; and of these the czar was the protector and the head. "Each victory over the Turks, each advantage claimed by her," says Todleben, "became an additional motive for Russia to insert in the treaties of peace some clause, intended either to improve the condition of the Christians in Turkey, or to stipulate for the creation of new rights in their favour." By such means Russia became the natural protectress of the Christians, under the rule of the Sublime Porte. It will be seen at once that no such claim could be admitted without putting an end to the integrity of Turkey.

Europe was, however, peaceful. As usual, France was the first to interrupt the calm of the world.

"The ambassador of France," said our Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, "was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Greek and Latin churches were not very active, but that, without some political action on the part of France, these quarrels would never have troubled the relations of friendly powers. If report is to be believed, the French ambassador was the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet to enforce the demands of his country. We should deeply regret any dispute that might lead to conflict between two of the great powers of Europe; but when we reflect that the quarrel is for exclusive privileges on a spot near which the heavenly host proclaimed peace on earth, and good-will towards men—when we see rival churches contending for mastery in the very place where Christ died for mankind—the thought of such a spectacle is melancholy indeed."

The actual subject of dispute was a very simple one. "Stated in bare terms," says Mr. Kinglake, "the question was, whether, for the purpose of passing through the building into their grotto, the Latin monks should have the key of the chief door of the church of Bethlehem, and whether they should be at liberty to place, in the sanctuary of the Nativity, a silver star adorned with the arms of France? The Latins also claimed, once a year, the privilege of worshipping at the shrine of the Blessed Mary, in the church of Gethsemane; and they went to assert their right to have a cupboard and a lamp in the tomb of the Virgin: but in this last pretension they were not well supported by France; and, virtually, it was their claim to have a key of the great door of the church of Bethlehem, instead of being put off with a key of the lesser door; which long remained insoluble, and had to be decided by the advance of armies, and the threatening movements of fleets."

France gained the day, and the Czar Nicholas determined to be even with her. Hence the celebrated mission of Mentschikoff to Constantinople.

"The Emperor Nicholas," writes Mr. Kinglake, "held an absolute sway over his empire; and his power was not moderated by the salutary resistance of ministers who had strength enough to decline to take part in acts which they disapproved. The old restraints which used sometimes to fetter the power of the Russian monarchs had fallen away, and nothing had yet come in their stead. Holding the boundless authority of an oriental potentate, the czar was armed, besides, with all the power which is supplied by high organisation, and the clever appliances of modern times. What he chose to do, he actually did. He might be sitting alone, and reading a despatch; and if it happened that its contents made him angry, he could touch a bell, and kindle a war without hearing counsel from any living man. In the room where he laboured, he could hear, over-head, the clicking of machinery; and he liked the sound of restless magnets, for they were



giving instant effect to his will in regions far away. He was of a stern unrelenting nature. He displayed, when he came to be tried, a sameness of ideas and language, and a want of resource, which indicated poverty of intellect; but this dearth within was masked by the brilliancy of the qualities which adorned the surface; and he was so capable of business, and had such a vast activity, that he was able to arrogate to himself an immense share of the governance of his subjects. Indeed, by striving to extend his management beyond the proper compass of a single mind, he disturbed the march of business, and so far superseded the responsibility of his servants, that he ended by lessening, to a perilous extent, the number of gifted men who, in former times, had taken part in the counsels of state. He had been merciless towards the Polish nation; but, whilst this sternness made him an object of hatred to millions of discomfited men, and to other millions of men who felt for them in their sorrows, it tended, perhaps, to increase, at the time, his ascendancy by making him an object of dread; and it trebled the delight of being with him in his gentle mood. When he was friendly, or chose to seem so, there was a glow and frankness in his manner which had an irresistible charm. He had discarded, in some measure, his predecessor's system of governing Russia through the aid of foreigners; and took a pride in his own people, and understood their worth. In the great empire of the north, religion is closely blended with the national sentiments; and, in this composite shape, it had a strong hold upon the czar. It did not much govern him in his daily life; and his way of joining in the service of the church, seemed to disclose something like impatience and disdain; but no one doubted that faith was deeply rooted in his mind. He had the air of a man raised above the level of common worshippers, who imagined that he was appointed to serve the cause of his church by great imperial achievements, and not by humble feats of morality and devotion. It will be seen but too plainly that the Emperor Nicholas could be guilty of saying one thing and doing another; and it may be supposed, therefore, that at once, and in plain terms, he ought to be charged with duplicity; yet there are circumstances which make one falter in coming to such a conclusion. He had reigned, and had personally governed, for some seven-and-twenty years; and although, during that period, he had done much to raise bitter hatred, the most sagacious statesman in Europe placed faith in his personal honour. It is certain that he had the love of truth. When he sought to speak of what was fair and honourable, he travelled into our language for the word which spoke his meaning, and claimed to have the same standard of uprightness as an English gentleman. It was known, also, that his ideal of grandeur was the character of the Duke of Wellington. No man could have made that choice without having truth in him.

"It would seem, however, that beneath the virtues which, for more than a quarter of a century, had enabled the czar to stand before Europe as a man of honour and truth, there lurked a set of opposite qualities; and that, when he reached a period of life which had often been found a trying one to men of the Romanoff family, a deterioration began to take place, which shook the ascendant of his better nature. After the beginning of 1853, there were strange alterations in his conduct. At one time he seemed to be so frank and straightforward, that the most wary statesman could not, and would not, believe him to be intending deceit. Then, and even within a few hours, he would steal off, and be false. But the vice which he disclosed in those weak intervals, was not the profound deceit of statecraft, but rather the odd, purposeless cunning of a gipsy or a savage, who shows, by some sudden and harmless sign of his wild blood, that even after years of conformity to European ways, he has not been completely reclaimed." As a military man, he was not only without the qualities for wielding an army in the field, but was mistaken, also, as to the way in which the best soldiers are made. Under his sway, Russia was so oppressively drilled, that much of the fire and spirit of enterprise which are needed for war, was crushed out by military training. No man could toil, however, with more zeal than he did in that branch of industry which



seeks to give uniformity and mechanic action to bodies of men. He was an unwearied inspector of troops. He kept, close at hand, a great number of small wooden images, clothed in various uniforms; and one of the rooms in his favourite palace was filled with these military dolls. As a diplomatist, Nicholas was no match for his ancient foe, Sir Stratford Canning.

Captain Gronow tells a characteristic anecdote of the czar on the occasion of his last visit to England. He returned home *via* the Hague, for the purpose of seeing his relative, the King of Holland. During the few days he remained there, a *levée* was held by the king, in order that his imperial majesty might have an opportunity of seeing the flower of the Dutch aristocracy. Among those present, the emperor singled out a remarkably tall but well-built man, whose right arm had been amputated, owing to a wound received in a duel. The emperor, little imagining how the limb had been lost, approached the baron, and inquired in what battle he had had the misfortune of losing his arm. "I lost it in a duel, your majesty," was the reply. The emperor, without a word, turned upon his heel, and said afterwards, to one of his friends, "It is a pity so fine a fellow should have been sacrificed: he had better have been killed in battle." In England the czar won golden opinions among our aristocracy, who little dreamt that he came here to tempt our government into a path that would have led to shame; or that, baffled and maddened, and defeated by western Europe, he was so soon to die of a broken heart.

Such was the Czar Nicholas. His ambassador rightly represented his passions and his prejudices, but was in no way gifted to advise and control. In an evil hour, instead of Count Orloff, Prince Mentschikoff was sent to Constantinople.

"Mentschikoff," writes Mr. Kinglake, "was a prince of the sort which Court almanacs describe as serene. He was a general, a high admiral, the governor of a great province; and, in short, so far as concerns official and titular rank, was one of the chief of the czar's subjects. But Russia has not disclosed the grounds on which it was thought fit to entrust to him, first the peace, and then the military renown of his country; for when Russians are asked about the qualities of mind which caused a man to be chosen for a momentous embassy, and for the command of an army defending his country from invasion, they only say that the prince was famous for the strange and quaint sallies of his wit. However, he was of the school of those who desired to govern the affairs of the state upon principles violently Russian, and without the aid and counsel of foreigners. It was understood that he held the Turks in contempt; and it was said, also, that he entertained a strong dislike to the English. He had not been schooled in diplomacy; but he was to be entrusted with the power of using a threatening tone, and was to be supported by a fleet held in readiness, and by bodies of troops impending on the Turkish frontier. The Emperor Nicholas seems to have thought that harsh words, and a display of force, might be made to supply want of skill."

The policy of the czar might have prevailed. The sultan might have given way, had it not been for Sir Stratford Canning, the English ambassador at Constantinople.

Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe—better known in Europe as Sir Stratford Canning, and, under that name, identified with British policy in Turkey—is the son of Stratford Canning, a merchant, who was uncle to George Canning, the statesman; was educated at Eton; and, in 1807, obtained an appointment as *précis* writer in the Foreign Office. In 1808, he accompanied Mr. Adair on a special mission to Constantinople; and was, next year, made Secretary of Embassy, upon Mr. Adair's appointment as permanent minister. In 1813, he returned to England to complete his studies; and, in 1814, was advanced by the government to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary; sent to Bâle; and assisted in framing the treaty which united the Swiss cantons in the Helvetic confederation. He was then variously employed; and, in 1814, settled down as ambassador at Constantinople, where he steadily laboured to exalt British influence, to weaken that of Russia,



and to maintain the integrity of the Turkish empire. His lordship is the hero of Mr. Kinglake, who writes of him—"This kinsman of Mr. Canning the minister, had been bred from early life to the career of diplomacy; and whilst he was so young that he could still, perhaps, think in smooth Eton Alcaics more easily than in the diction of high contracting parties, it was given him to negotiate a treaty, which helped to bring ruin upon the enemy of his country. How to negotiate with a perfected skill never degenerating into craft—how to form such a scheme of policy that his country might be brought to adopt it without swerving; and how to pursue this always—promoting it steadily abroad, and gradually forcing the home government to go all lengths in its support—this he knew: and he was, moreover, so gifted by nature, that whether men studied his despatches, or whether they listened to his spoken words, or whether they were only bystanders, caught and fascinated by the grace of his presence, they could scarcely help thinking, that if the English nation was to be maintained in peace, or drawn into war by the will of a single mortal, there was no man who looked so worthy to fix its destiny as Sir Stratford Canning. He had faults which made him an imperfect Christian; for his temper was fierce, and his assertion of self was so closely involved in his conflicts, that he followed up his opinions with his feelings, and the whole strength of his imperious nature. But his fierce temper being always under control when purposes of state so required, was far from being an infirmity, and was rather a weapon of exceeding sharpness; for it was so wielded by him as to have more tendency to cause dread and surrender than generate resistance. Then, too, every judgment which he pronounced was unfolded in words so complete as to exclude the idea that it could even be varied, and to convey, therefore, the idea of duration. As though yielding to fate itself, the Turkish mind used to bend and fall down before him." Such was the great Eltchi, between whom and the czar there had been a personal rivalry of many years.

Thus stood the question. England, France, Austria, and Prussia were all agreed to resist the claims of Russia. It was because of France—because Louis Napoleon wanted to do something to make himself popular—that we drifted into war. Such is Mr. Kinglake's theory. There would have been no war, he maintains, had we not separated from Austria and Prussia, and allowed France to lead us as she wished. War was inevitable, we imagine, on account of the reaction which took place at this time in the country against the extreme teaching of the peace-at-any-price party. The czar believed the influence of Messrs. Cobden and Bright to be greater than it really was: he knew that Lord Aberdeen had the most intense hatred of war; that Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was of a similar opinion. He felt that Austria was bound to him by ties of gratitude; that the King of Prussia was under his thumb; that England and France could never agree to pursue the same foreign policy. Herein he blundered, and war was the result. Todleben confesses as much.

It is idle here to give the details of the diplomatic struggle which ensued prior to the declaration of war. When the Porte confirmed the rights of the Latin Christians to that celebrated key, much to the prejudice (writes Todleben) of the Greek Christians, Russia was forced to take active measures to vindicate her position. The Porte, under the influence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, trifled and delayed with the firman demanded by the Emperor Nicholas; and finally introduced modifications in it, to the prejudice of the Eastern church. The czar then aimed at a treaty which was to secure the protectorate of all the Christians in Turkey to him; and the Divan would not hear of it. Instigated, Todleben says, mainly by the ambassador of England, Prince Mentschikoff left the city of Constantine. The diplomatists were delighted. They saw their way to force Russia to acts which would compromise her in the eyes of Europe; and she very soon gave them the pretext which they wanted. The occupation of the principalities followed the refusal of the Porte to accept the czar's *ultimatum*; but the allied fleets arrived at Tenedos three weeks before the passage of the Pruth, and encouraged



Turkey to reject the proposal. Although England and France might have declared war as soon as Prince Gortschakoff, at the head of his 70,000, took hold of "*gage matériel*," they sought to gain time by diplomacy; and, under the plausible pretext of a desire for peace, they opened the conference at Vienna; the result of which was, the Austrian note of the 1st of August—approved by the western powers, and admitted by Russia, with the proviso that the Porte should accept the note without modifications. But not only did Turkey reject the note as it stood, but demanded modifications which Russia could never entertain. Then it was that the secret desire of the western powers for a European war was made visible to all—a statement not quite true as regards England, which clearly, in the happy phrase of Lord Clarendon, drifted into war. Austria and Prussia might, indeed, still have preserved peace by energetic measures; but, drawn along fatally in the current of public opinion, they kept aloof, and Austria at last passed the bounds of neutrality, and had recourse to menaces. The French emperor had made up his mind to war. The British enlightened public were of the same opinion. To war with Russia was to war with despotism. War with Russia, argued the democracy of the Tower Hamlets and Marylebone, would bring freedom in its train. Alas! it did nothing: all it did was to destroy England's *prestige* on the continent, where she had hitherto held the first rank.

War was declared by Turkey on the 3rd of October; but the western powers still hung back. The slaughter of Sinope hurried them into action: the attack was no sudden surprise; and it seems strange—very strange—that Lord Stratford and the Divan did not provide against it. It was a terrible affair. On the 30th of November, the Russian fleet attacked the Turkish fleet as it lay in the harbour of Sinope in the Black Sea. Admiral Nachimoff, with six sail of the line, bore down upon the Turkish squadron, consisting of seven frigates, a sloop, a steamer, and some transports. The Turks were the first to fire, and to bring upon their little squadron the broadsides of six sail of the line; and although they fought without hope, they were firm and unflinching to the last. Either they refused to strike their colours, or else, if their colours went down, the Russian admiral was blind to their signal, and continued to slaughter them. Except the steamer, every one of the Turkish vessels was destroyed. It was believed, by men in authority, that 4,000 Turks were killed; that less than 4,000 survived; and that all those were wounded. The feeble batteries of the place suffered under the enemy's fire, and the town was much shattered. "This onslaught upon Sinope, and upon vessels lying in port," writes Mr. Kinglake "was an attack upon Turkish territory, and was therefore an attack which the French and English ambassadors had been authorised to repel by calling into action the fleets of the western powers. Moreover, this attack had been impending many days; and all this while the fleets of the western powers had been lying still in the Bosphorus, within easy reach of the scene of the disaster. The honour of France was wounded. England was touched to the quick." But the czar enjoyed the delicious sensation of a sweet revenge; and by judicious ministerial manipulation, the rage of the public in France and England was directed against him, rather than against the ambassadors, whose culpable negligence had permitted the massacre at Sinope to take place. So angry were people that they could not fairly understand the question. In France and England, there were few men who doubted that the onslaught of Sinope was a treacherous deed.

The Russian envoys were recalled from Paris and London; and the cabinet of St. Petersburg took measures, in the winter of 1853, and the spring of 1854, to prepare the coast against the first blows of the enemy. Up to this time the successes of the Turks, under Omer Pasha, on the Danube, had been continuous; and Turkey had shown a moral and physical courage for which Europe was not prepared. In Asia, the Russians were uniformly successful against the Turks, chiefly arising from the incapacity of the Turkish commanders, and from jealousy and dissension among themselves.

In St. Petersburg the most intense activity prevailed. Numerous couriers



were leaving daily for every part of the empire, to hasten on the armaments; and agents were sent everywhere to waken up the ferocity and fanaticism of the orthodox population, and to arouse, from the very depths of Asia, the Mongols and Tartars to join in this great warfare against the powers of Europe. This fanatic feeling extended throughout the whole of the Russian empire against the Turks and their allies—a feeling which the Russian government did its best to excite and influence. It is said that the Russian clergy offered 60,000,000 silver roubles to the emperor; the government of Konar, 1,500,000; of Moscow, 3,000,000; and the average amount of seventy-two governments was estimated at 2,000,000 roubles each. The emperor was described as living in a state of great excitement, regarding himself as the chosen instrument, in the hand of God, of driving the Moslems out of Europe, and only regretting that he should have allowed so many years to pass without fulfilling his destiny. The population of St. Petersburg had been worked up to the highest pitch of zeal—cheering the emperor, whenever he appeared in public, with the wildest enthusiasm, and denouncing as traitors all those who dared to speak of peace. The only man who was supposed to advocate a peaceful course was Count Nesselrode; and he, consequently, lost his influence with his imperial master.

On the 18th of February, the British ambassador, Sir H. Seymour, left St. Petersburg; and, on the 21st, the French ambassador did the same.

In England the war mania was at its height. Large meetings were held in the provincial towns and cities of the kingdom, to urge on ministers to hostilities with the czar; and talented orators went through the land, decrying the supineness of government, and even imputing treason to them. Already a French and English squadron had anchored in Besica Bay.

On Saturday, the 11th of March, 1854, after a grand banquet at the Reform Club, at which Lord Palmerston presided with his accustomed *bonhomie*, the Baltic fleet departed from Spithead on its warlike mission, amidst the cheers of thousands of spectators, and in the presence of the queen and royal family. Sir Charles Napier, the hero of Acre, was appointed commander-in-chief of this formidable naval force—consisting of forty-four ships, manned by 22,000 men; mounting about 2,000 guns; and propelled by a steam power of more than 15,000 horses. The French contingent of the fleet, in the Black Sea, was composed of a greater number of first-class ships than the British; whilst their contingent in the Baltic fell short of ours.

On the 12th of March, a treaty of alliance was concluded between France, England, and the Porte, consisting of five articles. By the first, France and England engage to support Turkey by force of arms, until the conclusion of a peace which shall secure the integrity and independence of the sultan's rights and dominions. By the second, the Porte engages not to conclude peace without the consent of the allies. The latter promise to evacuate, after the termination of the war, and at the request of the Porte, all those parts of the empire which they may find it necessary to occupy during the continuance of hostilities. This treaty remained open for the acceptance of the other great powers in Europe; and it secured to all the subjects of the Porte, without distinction of creed, complete equality before the law.

There were, besides, two separate conventions—one relating to a loan made to Turkey of 20,000,000 francs, by England and France, who not only undertook to pay the subsistence of the auxiliary troops, but agreed that all other expenses should be paid by their respective governments. The second related to the reform in favour of the Christians, which was of such a radical character, that the Sheik-ul-Islam resigned his office, as he could not possibly sanction measures which went to undermine the whole fabric of Islamism. Nor was he the only opponent; the old Turkish party thinking it preferable to grant the demands of the Muscovite. But Redschid Pasha knew better.

An Anglo-French *ultimatum* was forwarded to St. Petersburg: but the reply of



Count Nesselrode was—"No answer would be given by the imperial Court." The allies could scarcely have expected one.

On March the 27th, a royal message was brought down to both houses of parliament; in which her majesty declared, that she relied with confidence on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the sultan against the encroachments of Russia. After a long recapitulation of the wrongs which Turkey had received at the hands of Russia, and a reference to the tedious correspondence, and fruitless efforts of negotiation to avert those hostilities, the message stated—"It is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered upon a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman empire;" and concluded as follows:—"In this conjuncture, her majesty feels called upon, by regard for her ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe—by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong—by desiring to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a power which has violated the faith of treaties, and defies the opinion of the civilised world—to take up arms, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, in defence of the sultan."

This proclamation was soon followed up. In a few days, jubilant and joyous, as if for a holiday parade or a Hyde Park review, British troops were on their way to the East. They consisted of five divisions of infantry, of six battalions each; and one of cavalry. The artillery mounted fifty-six field guns; and the whole force may be reckoned, in round numbers, at 30,000. The French forces also started at the same time. Their first landing-place was Gallipoli, a little peninsula to the west of the Dardanelles. Thence they moved further up the country. In April, 10,000 British troops were encamped at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; and 20,000 French were on the opposite side. Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, arrived at Constantinople on the 29th of April: on the 10th of May, the Duke of Cambridge and Marshal St. Arnaud. Subsequently the allies moved to Varna, where not less than 40,000 were assembled, including Egyptians and Turks.

The allied fleets, by this time in the Black Sea, now prepared to commence operations against the enemy by an attack on the port and town of Odessa, thus originated. On the 6th of April, the *Furious* steam-frigate went to Odessa, to take on board the consuls, and such of the English as might desire to leave that town upon the approach of hostilities with Russia. A few moments after she had left the quay, and whilst her boat still hoisted the flag of truce, she was fired upon from the batteries. This breach of military custom amongst civilised nations was speedily avenged. At 4 P.M. on the 21st, the French and English admirals sent in a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the Russian, French, and English ships lying in the quarantine harbour; to which no answer was returned. The following morning, twelve steam-vessels of the combined squadron commenced the bombardment of the military port; and, in a few hours, destroyed the fortifications and the magazines of the Russians. The magazine in which the naval and the military stores were deposited exploded. Twelve vessels of war were sunk, and thirteen Russian transports, with their stores, were captured. The loss of the allies amounted only to five killed and twelve wounded. A little while after, the people of Odessa had their revenge, when H.M.S. the *Tiger* grounded, and was forced to surrender to the Russians. The *Tiger* was of 1,274 tons burthen, mounted six guns, and carried a crew of 226. As the ship could not be removed, she was set fire to and sunk. Some of her guns were taken, as trophies, to Odessa.

In the Baltic, the fleet under Sir C. Napier found Cronstadt inaccessible; and he did little more than seal up the Russian fleet.

The Turks and Russians were busy in the siege and defence of Silistria. The siege of the fortress was undertaken by Prince Paskiewitsch in person. The spirits



of the besieged began to droop; no help seemed at hand. The Turkish troops in Bulgaria remained quiescent. Had they made any movement the siege would probably have been raised. During this time there was a great Anglo-French force at Varna, not more than seventy miles distant; and at Shumla, still nearer, there was Omer Pasha, with his 70,000 Turks: still nothing was done to relieve the fortress; when two young British officers—Butler and Nasmyth—arrived at Silistria, on their way from India. They undertook the defence; raised the spirits of the besieged; sorties were made successfully; the assaults of the Russians were repeatedly driven back, and their killed and wounded were very numerous. The Turks lost their commander; but, on the 4th of June, Omer Pasha put 30,000 men in motion, and ordered them to advance to the relief of Silistria, which they entered the next day, partly breaking through the Russian lines. In vain Russia hurled her forces on the besieged. On the last assault, General Schilders, who, twenty-five years before, had established his reputation by taking this fortress, was hit by a cannon-ball, which carried off his thighs. General Luders had his jaw struck away. Count Orloff was dangerously wounded; as was Prince Gortschakoff. Prince Paskiewitsch was more fortunate; his wound was but small. The loss of the Russians was estimated at 30,000; and their retreating army was thoroughly demoralised. During the operations of the siege the brave Captain Butler died from exhaustion, occasioned by excessive fatigue: he was only twenty-eight, and was honourably interred by the Turks. The brave ensign, Nasmyth, lived to return to England, and he received from his sovereign the promotion to which he had an undoubted right. Todleben gives a very different version of the matter. Twice only, according to him, did the besieged attempt to attack the Russian trenches. On the night of the 20th of May they made a sortie, in which they were repulsed; and, in the ardour of the pursuit, two battalions which followed them into the Arabi Tabia, being left without support, were driven out, with a loss of 700 men. On the 3rd of June a second sortie was repulsed, with slaughter. On the night of the 20th of June, when the Russian troops were drawn up for the assault against the ruined parapets, a courier suddenly arrived with the order to raise the siege, and retire across the Danube. Their loss during the siege was only 2,500, of whom 700 fell in the sortie; so that the boasted defence only cost the Russians fifty men a day. It is hard to write history when there are such startling discrepancies; but we can scarcely believe that the Russian army would have retired so precipitately from Silistria, if they had been quite sure of inflicting on their hated enemies an additional disgrace. Moreover, Todleben tells us—actuated by a desire for peace, *and for a limited circle of military operations*, as well as to save central Europe the horrors of war, the czar, yielding to Austria and Prussia, ordered his troops to recross the Pruth on the 15th of September; and Prussia ceased to take any part in the conference at Vienna. The moment Austria occupied the principalities, the allies were left free to undertake an expedition against the Crimea; which, according to Todleben, would have been otherwise impossible.

Meanwhile, the Anglo-French forces were ingloriously dying of cholera. What was to be done? On the 26th of August, a council of war was held at Varna by all the French and English generals, who decided upon the expedition to the Crimea. Marshal St. Arnaud issued an order of the day, in which he stated that the time had come for fighting and conquering. The spirits of the army revived; Sebastopol was to be taken.

The expedition to the Crimea being decided on, the ships destined for that purpose began to rendezvous in the little bay of Baltjik, where the sea was literally covered, for the space of six miles, with the splendid shipping of the allies. Here were thirty-seven sail of the line—ten English, sixteen French, and eleven Turkish; with about 100 frigates and vessels of war; and nearly 200 of the finest steam and sailing transports in the world, lying at anchor in one immense semicircle, nine or ten deep. Each division of the army carried lights, corresponding to the number



of their division; and at night, when the ships were lighted up, the effect was described as extraordinary and most interesting: 60,000 troops were safely embarked by the 4th of September; and, on the 9th, the expedition anchored off the Isle of Serpents, at the mouth of the Danube. A council of war was held as to the best place for landing troops. The *Caradoc* was sent on an exploring expedition. Eupatoria, about forty miles from Sebastopol, was selected; and there, or in its neighbourhood, the allies landed.

We now turn to Todleben. He tells us that, early in the quarrel, the czar sent the chief of the artillery staff, and another officer, to arm the batteries of Sebastopol; and that, in the autumn of 1853, in spite of his pacific assurances, the coast batteries were mounted with 333 guns; red-hot shot furnaces were constructed; men were trained by constant firing; and experiments were made to determine the best ranges, and most destructive charges and projectiles, under the direction of Prince Mentschikoff. In the beginning of 1854, the exertions of the authorities were redoubled. Fifty-nine guns were mounted on new works. The Black Sea fleet, now concentrated in Sebastopol harbour, was disposed there in March, 1854, so as to combine its fire with that of the batteries. Although Mentschikoff was convinced, particularly as the year wore on, that no descent would be made on the Crimea, he provided, as far as possible, to meet such a danger. Fire-ships were prepared; telegraphs and coast patrols were established; and as early as May, 1854, the Wasp battery, and the Telegraph battery, and a mortar battery were constructed, and armed with eighteen pieces. During the winter and spring, indeed, he caused additions to be made to the land defences: but he was persuaded that it was only necessary to throw up such works as would stop a small corps, landed for a *coup de main*, from marching into the city; and he did not think, nor did those around him think, that the allies would be imprudent enough to land an army in a country so destitute of resources, that even water fit for drinking was very scanty. In the middle of April, Todleben was sent to Sebastopol, little dreaming of the glory he was to win by its defence. Under his inspiration the aspect of the place speedily changed: 145 guns were mounted along a line exceeding four miles in length, leaving many open spaces; and sixty guns were mounted on the north side. Prince Mentschikoff had available, for the defence, 39,000 men, eighty-eight guns of the land forces, and 18,000 sailors; but there were also about 12,000 men stationed, under General Khomontoff, in other parts of the Crimea. Todleben makes out that the town was in a poor state for defence; and that it was deficient in materials as well as in men. He says there were only 172 guns, all under twenty-four-pounders, in the forts, although 1,944 old pieces had been deposited, from time to time, by men-of-war in the arsenal; of which 931 might, in case of need, be rendered available for the works. It is clear, however, Sebastopol was intended to strike a blow, not to receive one; and for such a purpose it was well adapted and prepared. Prince Mentschikoff, in placing the harbour, arsenal, and city, beyond the reach of a raid, had done, as he thought, all that was required; when, on the morning of the 12th of September, about ten o'clock, he was summoned from his breakfast, to hear that two men-of-war were visible in the horizon, in advance of a dense cloud of black smoke which rose over the sea. Then came the news that twenty vessels of war had doubled Cape Loukone. The telegraph threw its arms up in despair, when, later in the day, it announced that the enemy's flotilla swarmed by hundreds; and, at last, a panting Cossack arrived, with the news that the number of hostile vessels was so great, it was impossible to count them. The prince was suddenly called upon to oppose a descent in which he did not believe.

His imperial master was equally sceptical. He was certain the allies meant to attack Odessa, and march on Nicholaieff, and would not diminish the force concentrated in Bessarabia; and when he heard of their threatening Sebastopol, his emotion was very great. An eye-witness relates, that the emperor was at table when the despatch containing the unwelcome news was handed to him. He gave



a slight start when he read the contents; his brow flushed; he crumpled up the paper in his hand, and, rising suddenly, stalked out of the room to the empress's *boudoir*, in which there was, at the time, one of the ladies in waiting standing by a window. "My God!" he exclaimed, with great emotion, "it is true: the French and English have landed in the Crimea!" Then the empress, by a gesture, dismissed the lady, and was left alone with his majesty of all the Russias. The czar was indeed perplexed by this unexpected blow. How much more puzzled was his lieutenant! For the first time the potency of steam was demonstrated in the most unpleasant manner; the enemy, indeed, were off Eupatoria: but if the prince hastened thither with his army, the fleet might at once sail for some point near Sebastopol, disembark troops, carry the unfinished land-defences, and decide the fate of the city before he could get back from Eupatoria. Mentschikoff, as we know, decided on taking a defensive position on the Alma. The delay of the allies in landing was of great advantage to him: it enabled him to collect reinforcements, and double his army.

The invading armada came to an anchor off Old Fort on September 14th. Immediate preparations were made for landing. The French were the first on shore: but the English speedily followed. The landing was a scene of extraordinary bustle and excitement. In a day the scene was changed. The weather was bad; and the British troops, without tents or covering, were in a deplorable condition. On the morning of September 19th, the march began. They took their time: they were from nine till two traversing the ten miles between Old Fort and the Boulganack. Lord Cardigan then pushed forward a *reconnaissance* of cavalry, and drove in the Russian outposts. Mentschikoff, in order to support them, and feel the force of the enemy, despatched a brigade of hussars, supported by two regiments of infantry, and two light batteries. Lord Raglan having perceived this, sent up the light division, the second division, two additional regiments of horse, and a field battery to sustain his troops. Soon after, the allies began to retire, and the Russians did the same.

The allies bivouacked nearly on the line of the Alma; and Todleben tells us how the Russian army watched our fire through the night, and saw the sea illuminated by the lights on board our ships. Before dawn next morning, a single gun was heard from the French flag-ship. Then they heard the *diane* beat along the French lines; then the *reveillee* sounded along the English front: finally, the Russian troops were roused for the work of the day by the hymn to Heaven—"Qu'il est Glorieux." The troops sank on their knees, while the priests traversed their ranks with the cross and the holy water. Thus fortified they prepared to meet the coming foe. The Russians were drawn up in a position which was very favourable for defence in some respects, while in others it was very disadvantageous. One of the principal drawbacks was its great length—more than five miles; another was, that the left flank could not touch the sea, in consequence of the fire of the fleet. The Russians numbered, according to Todleben, 33,600 men, with ninety-six guns.

Early on the morning of the 20th, the allies commenced the battle of the Alma; but it was nearly one o'clock before General Bosquet could lead his columns along the shore to attack an enemy superior in numbers, posted on lofty heights bristling with cannon, up which the guns of the allies had to be dragged. A regiment of Zouaves was the first to push through the brushwood; and, having gained the opposite side of the river, they ran swarming like ants up the steep and rugged cliffs. Having reached the plateau, they fell into line, when the Russians opened upon them a deadly fire of musketry and artillery. General Bosquet, with the remainder of his division, hastened to their support. By extraordinary exertions, and numerous relays of horses, the artillery was drawn up the precipitous heights, when they were rapidly brought to act against the enemy. The main body of the French army having gained the plateau, encountered the Russians in great force. All this while Canrobert was leading his division to the left, and



Prince Napoleon was conducting his to the right of the village of Bourliouk. The English arrived later on the field. They marched in contiguous double column, with a front of two divisions; General Evans's division on the right; while the light division, under General Brown, took the left. These divisions were respectively supported by General England's division, assisted by the Guards and Highlanders, under the command of the Duke of Cambridge. The light division was the first to attack; and more than once the men had to lie down, to take shelter for a moment from the heavy fire of the Russian batteries. The advance of the British is described to have been resistless as the swell of the ocean, against a wall of fire and solid masses of infantry—to struggle on at one time, overwhelmed by crushing volleys of grape and musketry; at another, disorganised by round shot, winning the ground from death at every pace, to form tranquilly and readily when momentarily thrown into disorder; and, at last, to nail victory to our colours by the never-failing British bayonet. This was accomplished. On the other hand, the French had to scale the sides of deep ravines, and to clamber up rocky steeps, defended by swarms of sharpshooters. They had to gain a most difficult position with quickness and alacrity: delay would have been fatal; for without the French on the heights on our right, we must have been driven across the Alma; and they would have been swept into the valley had the British failed in carrying the batteries. Their energetic movement, their flame-like, rapid speed from crag to crag, their ceaseless fusillade of the deadly rifle, were all astonishing, and paralysed the enemy completely. The Russians at length fled, after an engagement of nearly four hours; but they carried off all their guns, save one or two. Their loss is stated by Todleben to have been little—5,799. The loss of the allies amounted to—British, 362 killed, 1,640 wounded; French, 257 killed, 12,000 wounded: the Turks lost 230 men.

Lord Raglan gave his orders with consummate coolness and judgment. Marshal St. Arnaud, in his despatch to the emperor, said—"The bravery of Lord Raglan rivals that of antiquity; amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets his coolness never forsook him." Of the French commander, Lord Raglan wrote—"I will not attempt to describe the movements of the French army; this will be done by an abler hand: but it is due to them to say, their operations were eminently successful; and that, under the guidance of their distinguished marshal, St. Arnaud, they manifested the utmost gallantry, the utmost ardour for the attack, and the high military qualities for which they are so famed." Todleben's account of the battle agrees with that of the French; and, we may add, it is a very different one to Mr. Kinglake's. Todleben, also, omits the advance of our Guards; and differs from the author of *Eothen* as to the value of Sir Colin Campbell's demonstration on the left. Still it is clear that we killed more than the French; and, therefore, our troops must have had their fair share of the work.

In accounting for the defeat of the Russians, Todleben assigns a high place to the superior armament of the allies; but he also asserts that the Russians were inferior in manœuvring. Mr. W. Russell has put the case in a few words:—"In fact," says he, "an ill-armed Russian force, placed in a position which was not fortified, ill-commanded and manœuvred, was attacked by an enemy superior in numbers and equipments; and was, as the Americans say, 'pretty badly beaten.'"

Then commenced those blunders which created such profound sorrow at home, and such vivid sensations abroad. Why was there no pursuit of the enemy after such a victory? No reason appears to have been given for not pursuing the fugitive and demoralised Russians, and capturing the whole of them. Lord Raglan's excuse was, that he could not leave his wounded. Certainly they were beautifully cared for! There were few surgeons, and no proper conveyances; and yet they had all to be taken on board, and carried down to Scutari, 400 miles distant. The want of medical aid to the wounded soldiers on the ships was distressingly exemplified in the case of the *Vulcan*, where there were 300 wounded, and 170 cholera patients, attended only by four surgeons. On board the *Colombo*



matters were still worse: she carried, in all, 450 wounded soldiers and officers, and 104 Russian prisoners. To supply the wants of this mass of misery there were only four medical men. The ship was so covered with prostrate forms as to be unmanageable. The animal matter accumulated caused such a stench that the officers and men were nearly overcome: the captain fell ill, and thirty men died. At Scutari there were no dressers, no nurses or lint, nor any preparations made for the commonest surgical operations. When these things came to be understood there was no little wrath at home. The French were much better tended, though their chief was on his death-bed; he having done his part on the Alma while himself stricken with mortal disease.

Meanwhile, in Sebastopol an intense panic raged. Prince Mentschikoff prepared to guard it, and Todleben was indefatigable. Part of the fleet was sunk in the harbour, and thus the channel was blocked up. The crews were formed into soldiers for the time. Scarcely had these measures been completed, than the allies made their appearance in the Belbeck, and their bivouac fires were visible from the north fort on the night of the 24th of September. Every moment the garrison expected to see their feeble intrenchments carried. Their situation was the most critical, as Prince Mentschikoff had that very night left Sebastopol, and led his army by Mackenzie's farm to Baktchiserai. The prince confided the command of the troops in the city to Lieutenant-General de Möller; of the north side, and of the fort, to Korniloff; of the sailors, and the south side, to Nakhimoff. He left as garrison, altogether, 16,569 men. The allied army (60,000) was little more than three miles from the city. Working night and day in the interval between the 14th and 25th of September, the Russians, under Todleben's directions, could only run up some field-works. The walls actually tumbled down in the attempt to repair them; and all along a front, of a mile in extent, there were only twenty guns to oppose to the enemy. Korniloff could muster only 11,350 men—nearly all sailors—for the defence. In fact, his case was desperate: the fort, commanded from the surrounding heights, was crumbling to pieces; a breach was actually formed in the parapets by the wall giving way under the sacks of earth, hastily placed on them to cover the artillerymen as the enemy came in sight; the parapets were not high enough to protect the heads of the garrison. A body of sailors, armed with flint-muskets, boarding pistols, and the like, placed behind a wretched work, and exposed to the bombardment of an enormous fleet, were to be pitted against 60,000 men flushed with victory. In the event of defeat, retreat would have been impossible; the Russian fleet could not aid them by its fire till it had got away. No doubt, the establishment of batteries to intercept the communications with the north side, would have been difficult under the guns of the Russian fleet; but it would have been possible, as is proved by the fact, that the allies raised batteries on the south side, which forced the Russian ships to withdraw. It may be objected, also, that it would have been very difficult for the allies to have landed their artillery, and that the communication with the fleet would have been interrupted, as there was no port. That would have been a grave matter if the troops were obliged to prolong their attack of the north fort: but considering its power of resistance, and the strength of the fleet, the allies would have had complete success in a very little time.

That the attack could not have detained the allies long, Todleben demonstrates by a rigid analysis of the ground, and of the means of defence possessed by the garrison. On the right of the work, the allies would have been exposed, he states, to the fire of seven guns at long range, from which they would very soon get into cover. In a movement direct on the front, they would have been under the fire of six guns. On the left, they would have to encounter the effect of seven guns, which ought to have been very soon demolished by the fleet. The success of an assault, if preceded by a bombardment of the works and of the uncovered garrison—both of which were commanded by the guns of the fleet—must have been certain and inevitable. If such was the state of affairs after so many days of vigorous pre-



paration, which the delay of the allies permitted the Russians to make, it may be easily conceived what must have occurred if the enemy had marched on the place immediately after the battle, when one-half even of these miserable defences were not in existence.

It was not without astonishment, then, that the garrison, on the morning of the 26th of September, heard the allies were actually marching round the south side of the city. There was some disquietude caused by the movement, in consequence of its cutting off the communication between the garrison and the army; but the sensation of relief from immediate danger was far greater, although the south side was exceedingly weak, and was garrisoned only by 5,000 men.

This celebrated flank movement is shown by Todleben to have been a terrible mistake. The allies found it very difficult, on account of the almost impenetrable jungle through which they had to pass. They succeeded in seizing some of the baggage of the army, and the carriage of Prince Mentschikoff; but where they were, they could have mastered Sebastopol, and saved a winter of appalling misery. Todleben examines the reasons for this march. He contends, that the argument in its favour, founded on the absence of a port on the north side, was no solid basis. Unless the allies, he says, having originally resolved to land on the north side, found out, when they had done so, that an attack *de force* was impossible, and that it would be necessary to undertake a siege of the north side, they could not have needed a port. Did they not know, he asks, beforehand that the north shore had no port? and did they not, nevertheless, effect a descent on the north side? The inference is clear, that the allies intended to operate against that side of the grand bay of Sebastopol: they had no reason whatever to think the north side impregnable. Their fleet looked into the place. If they had made a few *reconnaissances*, they would, no doubt, have been satisfied of the possibility of taking the works. It has been argued, by the advocates for the flank march, that the allies might have taken the north side, and yet have failed to destroy the Russian ships and arsenals. Todleben is of a different opinion: he asserts that the fleets and arsenals could have been really destroyed from the north side. Weighing all the facts of the case, he arrives at the conclusion that there was a change in the councils of the allies, and an uncertainty, which he ascribes to St. Arnaud's illness, and also to the impression produced by the sinking of the ships in the harbour; but, so far as the authority of the Russian engineer avails, the question is decided as to the certainty with which the north side would have fallen into the hands of the allies, and to the ease with which they could have destroyed the ships and arsenals of the south side afterwards. When General Mansfield was at Warsaw, he held some interesting conversation with Prince Gortschakoff, concerning the events in the early part of the war in the Crimea, which he reported to the authorities or to his friends at home. In the *Military Opinions* of the veteran engineer and soldier, Sir John Burgoyne, some comments are made on these remarks of the Russian general, respecting the very question at issue. Prince Gortschakoff maintained, "there was nothing to stop the allies marching into the town." Sir John argues that the north side was very strong: Todleben asserts it was very weak. The impression made by the look of the works was, no doubt, due to the remoteness and imperfections of the *reconnaissances* of the place. The officers of the fleet did not throw much light on the defences. Sir John evidently did not know that the garrison was so weak, the works so slight; that there was a breach in them; and, above all, that the covering army to which he alludes, had marched away, and left the garrison to its fate. Again, Sir John states, the fort was not commanded in any way; and quotes the authority of Major Graham to show it was the culminating point of a ridge. Todleben, who knew the ground at least as well, implies the reverse, and alludes, in several places, to its uncovered position; while he insists on its openness to a cannonade over and over again.

Well, the allies are in Balaklava, where they have a harbour, and are in communication with the fleet. The men are dying of cholera; but they are dragging



the guns up the heights, and doing their duty bravely. But the south side of Sebastopol seemed to them equally as unattractive as the north. Todleben says—"Here, again, they were completely mistaken. The total number of guns available for the defence on the south side was 145 pieces, which were spread over a space of nearly five miles. To these were added twenty-seven guns, in different places, after the news of the loss of the Alma. The only part of the whole line capable of resisting an assault was at the 6th and 7th bastions. Field-works of the feeblest profile, the open spaces and unfinished works armed with light guns, were all that could be said to defend a city garrisoned by only 16,000 men, and thirty-two field guns. Neither the exultation of the troops, nor their resolution to fight to the last extremity, could have saved Sebastopol if the enemy had attacked it immediately after the passage of the Tchernaya." Todleben, availing himself of the delay which took place on the part of the allies, proceeded to fortify the place. The principle on which he acted was, to occupy the least extended position, and the nearest to the city which would satisfy the necessary conditions; to arm the principal points of the line so selected with the most formidable artillery which could be procured from the fleet; to connect these points with trenches for musketry; and to enable the separate batteries to concentrate a powerful fire on the front and flanks, to sweep the sinuosities of the ground as much as possible. One obstacle to the choice of the best line was presented by the works already constructed, to the line of which he was obliged to conform, as there was no time to rectify the errors on trace which they presented. The besieged had only time to throw up the soft earth, as they could not excavate the rock; and the guns were put in position before the batteries were ready to receive them. Then women and children laboured at the defences. Even the convicts and felons took their share. It was rarely they could dig as deep as two feet and a-half without coming on the stony subsoil. No wonder, with a place thus poorly defended, there was a panic on the part of the civil population, when they saw, towards the end of September, the allies on the heights above them. "Our own Correspondent" describes the scene in Sebastopol as a busy one. Steamers and boats of every description were seen moving to-and-fro in the harbour: long lines of carts and carriages were visible; ladies moving on horseback were observed along the road leading to the interior; and property of every kind was being removed from the town. They had no idea that the allies were going to give them time to defend the place in a way which was to cover Todleben—the soul of the defence—with universal renown.

On the 30th of September, to the inexpressible joy of the garrison, Prince Mentschikoff appeared with his army on the north side; and, next day, the troops for the defence received reinforcements of 5,000 men, field guns, and Cossacks. Column after column streamed into the Crimea; and each day the garrison was strengthened by accessions from the army, till, on the 5th of October, there were 32,000 men ready to receive the assault of the allies. Todleben thinks that, if then they had assaulted the place, they could scarcely have failed to have been successful. He applies himself to show, that the chances were, the allies would certainly have got possession of some part or other of the lines, as the Russians were so placed that they could not concentrate more than 2,500 to oppose the storming columns; and the occupation of any one, he shows, would have been fatal to the besieged. The allies, too, could have distracted the garrison by false attacks, and burst in on the real point of assault. They could have made their advance just at daybreak, before the artillery could have made theirs, and disorganised their columns. Again and again, writes Mr. Russell, the Russian engineer insists that success was quite certain. The indecision of the allies gave the Russians heart—they began to breathe more freely. The dark hour was past. The enemy, indeed, was at hand; but so dubious, slow, and uncertain were his movements, that, when the first signs of his purpose were made manifest, in the shape of certain lines which grew up by night in the clay soil, those trenches, which were to grow into batteries, were at first supposed by the Russians to be defensive



works, covering the front of the allied armies. Their generals "poked about" in front of the place. Mr. Kinglake tells us, Lord Raglan disliked to disturb his mind by plans. St. Arnaud was dead. Canrobert, his successor, was not a man who liked to be troubled by anything in particular, except fighting. The result of the remote examination of the Russian works which the allied generals made, was the begetting of an idea that it would be imprudent to make an assault till the works had been bombarded. Todleben evidently thinks that, if the *reconnaissances* had been closely pushed, and properly made, they would have arrived at a very different conclusion. The garrison, wasted and worn, and anxious, waited hour after hour for the supreme moment, scarcely daring to hope for more than a creditable defence. With joy inexpressible, they saw, one fine morning, long lines of earth, which unmistakably revealed the purpose of the allies. They were going to besiege Sebastopol. Here was, indeed, a hope of safety; nay, more, a guarantee of success. The Russians immediately resolved to overwhelm their force by the weight of metal; and whilst the allies, working with evident slowness, laboured to throw up their batteries, the Russians, confident that, if they could only resist the first attack, they must receive powerful reinforcements, exerted themselves to the utmost. On the 2nd of October, the guns in position had been increased to no less than 341, of which 246 were heavy pieces lately mounted. As the French and English worked at their trenches, and opened their batteries, the besieged acted accordingly. It was clear to them that the allies had decided on making no direct attack on Sebastopol; but preferred resorting to the slower process of constructing batteries, in order, first of all, to silence or weaken our artillery.

Mr. Russell observes—"The calculations of the French and English engineers must have been made in ignorance of every fact connected with Sebastopol. They set to work as if they thought the Russians must remain idle. One of the reasons for not attacking the place was, that there was a large covering army. Was it not certain, a portion of that army, having free access to the town, would be available to work at the fortifications, and garrison the place? Large men-of-war had been sunk; others had been moored in harbour. Would not their guns be made available, and become more formidable, in the earthworks which rose much faster than our own, than they were on board the ships? Was not the attack of the allies directed against Sebastopol because it was, among other things, a vast arsenal? With guns, powder, ammunition, and the soldiers, sailors, labourers at hand, what earthly reason was there for supposing the Russians would not maintain, in a siege, the relative superiority in all those particulars which prevented our assaulting them till we had tried a bombardment? The allies had a siege-train manifestly little heavier than the main-deck guns of three or four of the line-of-battle ships. But the engineers prevailed, and they challenged the Russians to meet them in the trenches."

Of course the allies, especially the English, inflicted terrible damage at the great bombardment of the 17th of October. As the revetments and parapets crumbled, the Russians fancied they saw, through the thick smoke, the enemy advancing to the assault. Suddenly, at half-past nine in the morning, one of the French magazines blew up. In half-an-hour afterwards another exploded in the French lines. Gradually the French fire became weaker, and at half-past ten it ceased all along the line. Todleben admits that our artillery speedily established a relative superiority. The Redan and the Malakoff suffered above all. In the latter Korniloff received his mortal wound. By the explosion of a magazine, caused by our fire, the whole of the salients of the Redan were thrown into the ditch, with more than a hundred men. Only two guns remained intact, out of the twenty-two with which the work was armed; and there were only five artillerymen left, who fired these guns at rare intervals. The fire of the allied fleet that day produced but little effect, although they had 1,244 guns in broadside, against the 152 with which the Russian works were armed. It was



from that fleet, however, arose the cry, "For God's sake, keep out the shells!" And, in fact, the men inside stone and earth had the best of the men inside the wood, and the former lost only an eighth of the number killed and wounded in the allied fleet. The Russians lost 1,112 men that day, of whom more than one-half were put *hors de combat* in the section in front of the English. The latter lost only 144: the French, 204. The general conclusion at which Todleben arrives is, that the object of the allied bombardment having been to dismount the Russian artillery, and to prepare the way for an assault, it was only the English batteries which obtained a complete success in annihilating the enemy's works and guns; but that such a partial success altogether answered the end in view; and that, after the allies had obtained it, they ought to have assaulted under cover of the smoke, and have advanced before the Russians could have come out of cover to resist them. The ditch was filled, the parapet beaten down; and the Russians could only have collected 8,000 men to resist our taking the Karabelnaia. As they did not profit by this favourable occasion to make the assault, it is evident that all their hopes and preparations for speedy victory were doomed to have no result. The allies discovered that the measures they had taken were not sufficient to overcome the strength of a defence which developed itself with so much perseverance and energy. Next day the English opened a tremendous cannonade; but the French were silent. The former did not obtain so decisive a result as on the first day.

The besiegers had a sad time of it. In eight weeks, of the British troops alone, no less than 9,000 men were placed *hors de combat* from cold and disease. The allied troops began to get tired of this continual pounding. The Russians had, or seemed to have, plenty of labourers to repair by night the damage done by day. The British were worn out with fatigue; their daily toil exhausted them. The most heroic bravery was displayed by some of the British officers, naval and military: among others was Captain Peel, of the former service, who, when the union-jack in the sailor's battery was shot away, seized the broken staff, and, leaping up on the earthworks, waved the old bit of bunting again and again, amidst a storm of shot which fortunately left him unhurt.

The Russians had now considerably augmented their forces by an army of 50,000, commanded by General Liprandi; and, on the 25th, they attacked the British in the rear of their camp, threatening to cut off their communication with Balaklava. The position occupied by the British was supposed to be impregnable. Their lines were formed by mountain slopes in the rear, along which the French had made very formidable intrenchments. On the top of each of these hills the Turks had thrown up earthen redoubts, defended by 250 men, armed with two or three guns. These Turks the Russians attacked early in the morning, and soon put to flight. The Cossacks were too quick for them, and sword and lance were busily plied among the retreating herd. The yells of the pursuers and the pursued were plainly heard by the various divisions of the British army, thus suddenly and unexpectedly roused to arms. Orders had been despatched to Sir G. Cathcart and the Duke of Cambridge to put their respective divisions in motion, and the intelligence was likewise furnished to Canrobert. Sir Colin Campbell, who was in command at Balaklava, had drawn up his 93rd Highlanders a little in front of the road. At the first news of the advance of the enemy, the marines on the heights were under arms. Lord Lucan's little camp was the scene of great excitement; the men had not had time to water their horses: they had not broken their fast from the evening of the day before, and had barely saddled at the first blast of the trumpet, when they were drawn up on the slopes behind the redoubts in front of the camp, to operate on the enemy's squadrons. The Turks betook themselves towards the Highlanders; and at them, after a pause, the Russians furiously charged. The Highlanders treated them to a deadly fire, which compelled them to retire. A fresh attack was ordered. Brigadier Scarlett rode along in front of his massive squadrons. "The Russians," writes the *Times'* correspondent, "advanced down the hill at a slow canter, which they changed



to a trot, and at last nearly halted. Their first line was at least double that of the British, and three times as deep; behind them was a similar line, equally long and compact. At the trumpet-charge, the Greys and Enniskillens went right at the centre of the Russian cavalry; the space between them was only a few hundred yards, scarcely enough to let the horses gather way; nor had the men sufficient space for the full play of their sword-arms. The Russian line brought forward each wing as our cavalry advanced, and threatened to annihilate them as they passed. The Greys rushed on with a cheer, which thrilled to every heart; the wild shout of the Enniskillens rose through the air at the same moment; and, as lightning flashes through a crowd, they both dashed through the dark masses of the Russians. The shock was but for a moment; there was a clash of steel, and a light play of sword-blades in the air, and then the brave fellows disappeared, in the midst of the shaken, and shivering, and quivering Russian columns: in another moment they were seen emerging and dashing on with diminished numbers, and in broken order, against the second line, advanced against them, as fast as it could, to relieve the force in charge. It was a terrible moment; with unabated fire these noble fellows dashed at the enemy: it was a fight of heroes. The first line of Russians which had been smashed utterly at their charge, had fled off at one flank, and, towards the centre, were coming up, to swallow this handful of brave men, who, by their sheer courage and steel, were winning their desperate way right through the enemy's squadrons; and soon the grey horses and red coats appeared right at the rear of the second mass, whose irresistible force was like a bolt from above. The 1st Royal and the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards rushed at the remnant of the first line of the enemy, and went through it as if it had been made of pasteboard; and, dashing on the second body of Russians as they were still disordered by the terrible assault of the Greys and their companions, put them to utter rout. The Russian horse, five minutes after, were flying with all speed before a force certainly not half its strength. The cavalry did not long pursue the enemy; their loss was slight—only thirty-five killed and wounded. Nobly did our soldiers do their duty. French and English officers, who witnessed their operations from the heights, might well be clamorous in their praise."

Then came an episode never to be forgotten. After the Russians retired, they took up a position covered by thirty guns. It is reported that Lord Raglan sent off Captain Nolan, of the 8th Hussars, with a written order to storm the guns "if the thing were practicable;" and that, when Lord Lucan read the order, he asked Captain Nolan, "Where are we to advance to?" To which he replied—"There are the enemy, and there are the guns before you; it is your duty to take them." Lord Lucan then, with reluctance, gave orders to Lord Cardigan to advance upon the guns, conceiving that his orders compelled him to do so. The noble earl, though he did not shrink, saw, also, the fearful odds against them.

"The light cavalry brigade," writes Mr. Russell, "consisting of only 607 sabres, led by Lord Cardigan, at ten minutes past eleven, glittering in the morning sun, and in the pride and splendour of war, advanced in two lines, increasing their pace as they closed towards the enemy. Thirty iron guns of the enemy belched forth among them a flood of smoke and flame, accompanied with deadly balls, which was marked by instant gaps in the ranks of the devoted heroes, scattering the ground with dead men and horses; steeds flying, wounded or riderless, across the plain. The first line, broken, was joined by the second: they never halted or checked their speed an instant. Their diminished ranks thinned by the Russians with their thirty guns laid with the most deadly accuracy, with a halo of flashing steel above their heads, and with a cheer which was mingled with many a noble fellow's death-cry, they flew into the smoke of the batteries; but ere they were lost from view, the plain was strewn with their dead bodies, and with the carcasses of horses—being exposed to an oblique fire from the batteries on the hills on both sides, as well as a direct fire of musketry. Through the smoke were seen their sabres flashing as they rode up to the guns, and dashed between them, cutting



down the gunners as they stood. After breaking through a column of Russian infantry, and scattering them like chaff, they were seen returning, exposed to the flank fire of the battery, which swept them down, scattered and broken as they were; and, on their retreat, a numerous mass of Lancers was hurled on their flank. Colonel Skerrett, of the 8th Hussars, saw the danger, and rode his few men straight at them, cutting through with frightful loss. Other regiments turned and engaged in this desperate encounter. The brave troopers were seen breaking their way through the columns which enveloped them, when there took place an act of atrocity without parallel in the modern warfare of civilised nations. The Russian gunners, when the storm of cavalry passed, returned to their guns. They saw their own cavalry mingled with the British troopers, who had just ridden over them; and, to the eternal disgrace of the Russian name, the miscreants poured a murderous volley of grape and canister on the mass of struggling men and horses, mingling friend and foe in one common ruin. It was as much as our heavy cavalry could do to cover the retreat of this band of heroes." In this magnificent but useless exploit, the light cavalry lost ten officers; 147 men, killed or missing; 110 men wounded; with 335 horses. The heavy brigade lost, during the day, nine men killed, and ten officers; eighty-seven men wounded, and forty-six horses. There was glory in the deed, but the price paid was high. On his return to England, the Earl of Cardigan was *fêted* as a hero; and Tennyson found, in the daring charge, a fit theme for his melodious pen. Ages will pass away since it will be forgot how—

" Cannon to right of them,  
Cannon to left of them,  
Cannon in front of them,  
Volley'd and thunder'd :  
Storm'd at with shot and shell,  
Boldly they rode, and well ;  
Into the jaws of Death,  
Into the mouth of Hell,  
Rode the six hundred.

" Flash'd all their sabres bare,  
Flash'd as they turn'd in air,  
Sab'ring the gunners there,  
Charging an army, while  
All the world wonder'd.  
Plunged in the battery smoke,  
Right through the line they broke;  
Cossack and Russian  
Reel'd from the sabre-stroke,  
Shatter'd and sunder'd.  
Then they rode back : but not—  
Not the six hundred."

In the poet's last verse all will agree—

" When can their glory fade ?  
O ! the wild charge they made !  
All the world wonder'd.  
Honour the charge they made ;  
Honour the Light Brigade,  
Noble six hundred !"

The result of the action, altogether, was in favour of the Russians. Todleben asserts, and Mr. Russell confirms the assertion, that if General Liprandi had received some support that day, Balaklava would have fallen into their hands. The news of the success obtained by the Russian troops—the taking of the Turkish redoubts—the annihilation of the large mass of the English cavalry, and the occupation of an advanced position—produced a most favourable impression on the garrison of Sebastopol, which had not had a single day of repose; had, indeed, been harassed by increasing labour ever since the landing of the allies, and had



been kept in a ceaseless state of suspense by the expectation of an assault. Todleben continues—"The catastrophe of the Alma was forgotten; unlimited confidence was again placed in the superiority of Russian arms; and the moral tone of the garrison being completely restored, it returned to the display of the greatest energy. The principal object of the defence was, henceforth, not to allow the artillery of the besiegers to achieve an advantage over ours. Most special attention was therefore directed to meet the fire of the new batteries which the French evidently had the intention of establishing." In order to distract the attention of the enemy, a sortie was ordered against the British. According to Todleben, the attacking force was but small, and retired with the loss of twenty-five officers, and 245 men, killed and wounded. Sir de Lacy Evans estimated their loss at 600; and he had some reason, for he took eighty prisoners, and had about 130 of their dead left in or near his position. Some writers calculated the attacking force at 12,000: clearly this is an immense exaggeration.

The Russians, who had been reinforced, finding that the troops of the allies were being reinforced much more speedily than themselves, in consequence of the facility of transport by sea, made up their minds for another grand struggle, now known to history as the battle of Inkermann, fought on the 5th of November. At this time, the effective force in and around Sebastopol, under Mentschikoff, amounted to 100,000 men, without counting the crews of ships. To oppose this force, the French mustered 41,700 men; the English, 24,530; the Turks, 4,700. These forces were divided into a besieging and a covering army. Of the former the English had taken up their ground on the space from the abrupt crests of the Mount Saponine, looking down the Tchernaya, opposite Inkermann, to the Sarandziaki ravine, at about two-and-a-third miles from Sebastopol; and the French extended from the English left as far as the road from Sebastopol to Kamiche, at a distance of from one mile and a third to one mile and three-quarters from the city. The head-quarters of the English army were near the ascent of the Chersonese plateau, on the road from Balaklava to Kamiesch. The French head-quarters were a little further behind the right flank of the French corps. In every way the ground which the besiegers occupied was very difficult of access. An attack on the plateau from either side of Balaklava, or from the Tchernaya, could have no hope of success, on account of the difficulties of access, and of the strong fortifications. The narrow space between Careening ravine and the Quarries ravine, although offering the only point of attack, was nearly inaccessible. There were encamped the English second division, covered in part by three works of very weak profile: one, the Sand-bag battery, unarmed on the right flank; another on the right of the road; the third behind the first. Across the road was cut a trench. Prince Mentschikoff decided to attack at that point. Although the nature of the ground rendered the position strong, the number of troops defending it was small.

The night was dark when the Russian troops quitted their bivouacs. "The English," says Todleben, "without the least suspicion of the danger to which they were exposed, were sleeping peaceably in their camps. Their outposts, soaked in rain, shivered at the cold blast of an icy wind, and, half stupid with fatigue and inanition, did not lend much attention to what passed in our camp. At six, General Soimonoff's detachments had mounted on the plateau, and began to form in the order of battle. Having done so, General Soimonoff began to advance, parallel with Careening ravine. A thick fog, and the grey colour of our soldiers' great-coats, concealed their line from the view of the enemy's outposts, and permitted them to advance, without being remarked, almost up to them. A picket of the light division of General Brown was almost immediately surrounded and taken. Then commenced a musketry fire, which was the signal for a general *alerte* in the enemy's camp. At the dawn of day, General Codrington had left the camp to visit his outposts. After having made his rounds he was preparing to return, when he heard suddenly some musket-shots in the direction of the heights of the ravine, and immediately afterwards some sentries ran in with the news of the



Russian attack. Codrington returned immediately to camp, and communicated the intelligence to General Brown, who put his division under arms, and directed it towards the upper part of Careening ravine. Scarcely had the first volley rang through the camp, ere the alarm spread to the second division. General Pennefather, who commanded it in the absence of Sir de Lacy Evans (caused by illness), immediately advanced his troops on the position, placing them, with twelve guns, on the ground between the Sand-bag battery and the ravine Michrivkoff. Adams' brigade occupied the right, and Pennefather's brigade the left. Almost at the same time the troops of the light division reached the upper part of the ravine. Codrington's brigade, with six guns, occupied the western ridge of the ravine, and rested its left on the right Lancaster battery; while Butler's brigade, with six guns, having turned the end of the ravine, placed itself in the rear of Pennefather's brigade. Without loss of time, the brigade of Guards, the fourth division, and the brigade John Campbell, were also led to the scene of action. The brigades Airey and Torrens, and the Rifles, remained in the trenches. The troops of the right column, under Soimonoff, supported by their batteriers, attacked Sir de Lacy Evans' division briskly, and drove back the English skirmishers. The assault was conducted under great difficulty, as much owing to the peculiar nature of the ground, as to the losses which our troops suffered from the excellent arms of the English." But we must hasten on, as Todleben's account is too minute for a history such as ours. Lord Raglan was informed that the enemy were advancing in force; and soon after seven o'clock he rode towards the scene of action, followed by his staff and several of his aides-de-camp. As they approached, the volume of smoke, the steady unceasing thunder of guns, rifles, and muskets, told that the engagement was at its height. The shells of the Russians were thrown, with great precision, so thickly among the troops, that the noise resembled continuous discharges of cannon, and the massive fragments inflicted death on every one within range. Masses of men maintained the most desperate encounters with the bayonet alone; and the Russian infantry charged the British with incredible fury and determination. There was terrible havoc made among the British troops. Their generals knew not what to do—they could not tell where the enemy was. In darkness, gloom, and rain, they had to lead the British lines through thick, scrubby, and thorny brakes, which broke their ranks. Sir George Cathcart, on rallying together his disordered men, fell mortally wounded. Colonel Seymour, who had accompanied him, was bayoneted whilst standing near the dead body of his chief. In this struggle, where the Russians fought with the greatest ferocity, they bayoneted the soldier as he fell. The Russians lost their General Soimonoff, and the English riflemen did them immense damage. "After recovering," writes Todleben, "the rude blows which the Russians had given them, the English troops advanced again. Thirty 9-pounders on the crest of the heights, which formed the English front, opened fire against our artillery; thirty-eight of our guns on Cossack Hill replied to them. The hand-to-hand engagement had ceased, to give place to a lively cannonade. Our artillery, separated from that of the English by two ravines, could not, having regard to the ground, answer the English batteries otherwise than by a direct fire of shot and shell, at a distance of from 920 to 1,000 yards. Notwithstanding the range, which was particularly great for light artillery, our guns caused considerable damage to the English artillery. But these injuries very imperfectly compensated the enormous losses which the enemy's riflemen inflicted on the Russian artillery. A perfect cloud of riflemen, hid in thick brushwood, opened a very violent and accurate fire against our artillery, at the distance of 800 paces. Some of our guns rained, from time to time, grape upon them; but the discharge only checked the fire of the enemy's riflemen for a moment; for, after their momentary fright, they only commenced to decimate our ranks more effectually. At the same time, the English artillery hurled shrapnel on our artillery and infantry; but it was more the fire of rifled small arms than that of the artillery of the enemy which reached our artillerymen, of whom the greater part were killed or wounded." By eight the



head of the Russian columns had retired. Of all the battalions which were to have attacked the English position by that time, twenty had already quitted the field. The Russians, repulsed after suffering frightful loss, were, as Todleben confesses, harassed with fatigue: still the combat raged fiercely. The Russian General Dannenberg had two horses shot under him. Projectiles of all kinds reached even to the ravine of St. George, where were the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, at the side of Prince Mentschikoff.

Against "the intrepid Coldstreams," as Todleben terms them, "was one of the bravest of the Russian regiments (the Okhotsk) hurled." A bloody and obstinate combat ensued round the battery. Although still unfinished, the Coldstreams defended it with as much tenacity as courage. The soldiers of Okhotsk scaled the parapets again and again, and even reached the interior of the work; but they were repulsed every time, and could not establish themselves solidly. The combat at this point soon assumed the character of a hand-to-hand engagement. In the midst of the sanguinary *mêlée*, these intrepid soldiers carried on, one against the other, a terrible, merciless struggle. Whatever came to hand, whatever could injure an enemy, seemed fit for the combat. The soldiers exchanged shots with muzzles touching; struck each other with the butts; fought bayonet to bayonet; and even threw stones and fragments of arms against each other. At last, after unheard-of efforts to conquer such an energetic resistance, the soldiers of Okhotsk succeeded in expelling the Coldstreams from the battery, and seizing it. Nine guns were the reward of this brilliant feat of arms; three were immediately taken down the ravine, and the others were spiked. Of 600 Coldstreams who defended the battery, 200 were *hors de combat*. But the brilliant victory was dearly gained: the Okhotsk regiment lost its commander; the greater part of its officers; a very great number of soldiers; and was, finally, compelled to retire before the English reinforcements, consisting of the Guards and others.

Todleben continues—"The English remained a long time before they resolved to demand help from the French. Long they fought obstinately against the Russians; but finally they had no more strength. Having exhausted his soldiers, and engaged all his reserves in the battle, Lord Raglan was obliged to resign himself to pray General Bosquet to come to his help. Bosquet replied immediately by sending, without delay, two battalions and a-half, and twelve guns. Soon after, to support these troops, two battalions and four squadrons were directed to the same point; and, finally, Canrobert himself sent three battalions under General de Monet. At the same time, Prince Napoleon was informed that it might be necessary to ask him for reinforcements. At the first onset the French fled; but they re-formed. Meanwhile," continues Todleben, "the fire of the French batteries made terrible ravages among the Russian columns; but the ardour of our soldiers attained its highest degree of exaltation. Exalted by their success, the regiments of the eleventh division pushed back before them the French battalions. One effort, and the issue of that combat would have been decided in favour of the Russians; but, unhappily, the fatigue of our soldiers had arrived at its height. It was a decisive moment for the two armies." Fortunately for the allies more French reinforcements arrived. "In the steps of General Bosquet, rushed the Zouaves, the Chasseurs Endogènes, and the Chasseurs d'Afrique, followed closely by three battalions and a field battery, commanded by General d'Autemarre." The battle was lost; and nothing was left for the Russians but a retrograde movement, conducted with great order and extraordinary bravery. The English having recovered, and being supplied with cartridges, again came into action.

General Dannenberg, seeing the approach of fresh troops to the allies, and having lost all hope of holding the position, took measures for retreat. Todleben writes—"Bosquet, seeing the dangerous condition of our retreating troops, began to press on our rear-guards still more hotly. At half-past two the last four batteries had left the position; and about three o'clock Bosquet placed a battery on a height situated opposite the head of the Valoura ravine, in order to act



against our troops, which were at that time crossing the long Inkermann bridge and causeway: but the steamers *Wladimir* and *Chersonese*, anchored in the roads opposite the mouth of the Souskilnaia ravine, opened such a rapid and well-armed fire on the French, that they were immediately obliged to retreat." The Russians fell back in two different directions. Those from Inkermann made for the bridge over the Tchernaya; and those from Sebastopol returned by the mouth of Careening ravine. The artillery slowly crawled down the Sappers' Road, and were very near being captured by the sharpshooters of the allies. Todleben blames Prince Gortschakoff, down in the valley of Balaklava, for not having rendered more assistance in drawing off the French, upon whom he made a feigned attack.

It is impossible to give a clear idea of Inkermann. We seek in vain for order where all was confusion. Mr. Russell says many incidents of that tremendous day's fighting will never be known clearly for long years to come. Todleben affirms, that out of 34,835 men who took part in the action, six generals, 256 officers, and 10,467 soldiers were killed or wounded. Lord Raglan estimated the forces of the Russians, and their loss, at a much higher number. The loss of the allies was eleven generals, 260 officers, and 4,109 rank and file; of which 147 officers, and 2,465, were English. The discrepancy in the losses Todleben ascribes to the conditions of attack, and to the difference of armament. In his elaborate way, Todleben sets to work to show, first, that the ground prevented the Russians acting in masses together; secondly, that the superiority of armament, on the side of the English, prevented any approach to a charge, and caused enormous losses at a distance; thirdly, that the English infantry was helped always at the proper time by the artillery, and that the Russians were not.

The great battle of Inkermann was sustained by 5,000 English troops alone until the French troops came up; and the whole number of the British engaged in it did not exceed 8,000, and that of the French 6,000 men. On the part of the British it was a confused and desperate struggle—a battle won by the men alone. Colonels of regiments led on small parties, and fought like subalterns; captains like privates: all depended upon personal valour. Every man was his own general: the tide of battle ebbed and flowed in broken tumultuous billows; the combat of infantry was a proof of skill, strength, and courage. Never, perhaps, had the artillery fire been concentrated, for so long a time, on so confined a space: this whole part of the battle-field was not more than three-quarters of a mile. There were nine hours of close fighting. The slaughter of the enemy had been so immense, that there was no exultation on the part of the victors; but a gloom hung over them as they surveyed the Russian corpses, strewing the ground like autumn leaves. The field was literally covered with the dead and wounded; the path was slippery with blood. It was hard work to bury them all, and to tend the wounded. Large trenches were dug in the ground for the former: the Russians lay apart; the French and English were placed side by side. The wounded were carefully tended; and all night long, by the light of the moon, there was searching for the living amongst the dead. The Russian army was primed with raki; whereas most of the British went into battle without their breakfasts. On the 6th of November, Lord Raglan attended the funerals of Sir G. Cathcart, Brigadier Goldie, and General Strangways. The remains of these brave men, with eleven other officers, were buried on Cathcart Hill. At the same time, fourteen officers of the Guards were buried together near the windmill. The work of burying the dead, and carrying the wounded to Balaklava, occupied the whole of that day.

Well, the allies beat off the Russians: nevertheless, the battle produced a profound effect upon them. At first, indeed, they even thought of raising the siege. They changed their tactics, and acted on the defence. The plan of the allies had been, originally, to deliver the assault after a short cannonade. When the English annihilated the Great Redan, they had a chance: losing that, they chose for the principal point of attack, bastion No. 4, or Flagstaff bastion. Towards this the French pushed their way with remarkable activity, considering the nature of the



soil; but after Inkermann, the assault against bastion No. 4 was put off. It is a fact, that after the 5th of November, the besiegers continued the violence of their artillery fire for only a few days; and, from the day in question, the gradual decrease of the bombardment could be remarked. The approach of the French to bastion No. 4, did not advance a step after they had opened their third parallel. On the contrary, they took measures to secure the two flanks of their attack, while the English set to work actively to fortify their position on the heights of Careening Bay. On their side, the Russians, profiting by the increasing weakness of the besiegers' fire, were enabled to undertake vast works, to give the greatest liberty of action to the line of defence.

But the allies had other enemies besides the Russians. In the middle of October, the most alarming accounts began to be received, from Balaklava, of the sufferings of the British troops in camp, not from disease only, but from the want of the necessaries of life—clothing, food, fuel, &c. The public journals teemed with reports both horrible and heartrending, contained in letters from private individuals on the spot. These accounts created the greatest alarm and anger in England. The "Patriotic Fund" was called into existence by royal commission. Her majesty headed the list of subscribers with £1,000; the Prince Consort subscribed £500. The most munificent contributions poured in. Amongst others, we may notice the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, £2,000; the Corporation of London, £2,000; East India Company, £1,000; Goldsmiths' Company, £1,000; Grocers' Company, £1,000. On the 2nd of November, a large meeting of the merchants and bankers of the city of London was held in the Egyptian Hall, Mansion-house; when, after many long and patriotic speeches, the sum of £16,000 was subscribed in the hall. Public meetings were held in all the principal cities and large towns of the kingdom; and, in the course of three months, the subscriptions to the Patriotic Fund amounted to half a million. Nor was this all. Sir Robert Peel addressed a letter to the editor of the *Times*, recommending that every exertion should be made to relieve the soldiers' sufferings, and to supply them with such comforts as did not come within military regulations; enclosing a cheque for £400, as part of a special fund for that purpose. This was rapidly followed by other sympathisers; and, in less than a fortnight, the sum of £10,000 was sent on to the *Times'* office, to be thus appropriated. It was then proposed that a commissioner should be sent out to Scutari, to administer necessaries and comforts to the sick and wounded in the hospital at that place; and the *Times* despatched one of their staff for the purpose, at their own expense. Such was the want of the commonest hospital appliances, and so great were the benefits accomplished by the *Times'* commissioner, that he was entrusted with £5,000 more. At this time, Miss Florence Nightingale, the youngest daughter of William Shore Nightingale, Esq., of Embley Park, Hants, volunteered to leave her home of luxury and ease, to tend the sick and dying at Scutari. The French had already sent out 500 Sisters of Mercy.

Affairs in the Crimea grew worse. On the 14th of November, occurred a storm such as the oldest inhabitant had never known. The tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven in the morning; and, in two hours, eleven transports had been wrecked, and six dismantled, and rendered unfit for service. The new, magnificent steamship *Prince*, which had arrived only a few days before with the 46th regiment, and a cargo valued at £500,000, was lost. Of her crew of 150, only six were saved. In the camp the tempest was scarcely less fearful. Men and officers are described as walking about drenched to the skin; the tents blown down; the French hospitals broken by the gale, leaving the wounded exposed to the sleet and rain. So strong was the blast, that the monastery of St. George was shaken to its foundation, and much damaged; some of its iron gates flung down, and pieces of stone wall and iron roofing carried away like strips of paper, the distance of a mile. At Eupatoria they suffered more from the storm. In port lay stranded the remains of five merchant vessels; and many others were similarly



wrecked. The enemy took advantage of the gale by advancing on Eupatoria with about 6,000 cavalry and twelve field-pieces. They were, however, received with such a heavy fire that they retreated, with some few killed and wounded. To show how severe was the storm, we may mention that even the Russian fleet, sheltered as it was in Sebastopol, suffered severely from it. Todleben says—"By order of the commander-in-chief, we took the necessary measures to save, as far as possible, the crews thrown on the coasts." In another chapter he describes what these measures were. It does not appear that they were of a very humane or effective character. After the 14th, the difficulties of the allies were much increased. The weather became wretched: frost set in, and rain alternated with snow. The clay became soft, and turned into deep mud. The besieged suffered from the weather; but they were cheered by the accounts brought in by the deserters, who stated that the *morale* of the besiegers was singularly affected; that they were harassed by fatigue, and suffered from cold; that the hospitals were filled with sick; and that the deplorable state of the roads rendered it exceedingly difficult to supply the batteries. Terrible, indeed, was the state of our poor fellows—rotting away from administrative imbecility and neglect. Cholera and famine did their deadly work, and—

"Men looked to heaven with that frenzied air,  
Which seemed to ask if a God were there."

A new phase in the operations was created by the employment of what Todleben calls "ambuscades"—or, as we call them, "rifle-pits"—which the Russians established in the first instance, to enfilade the French approaches towards the Bastion Flagstaff, at the beginning of November. Finding them very efficacious, the Russians extended them gradually in front of the Greenhill batteries, and away to the left, till they were opposite Gordon's batteries, in front of the Malakoff, and Careening ravine. These rifle-pits gave rise to a series of fights outside the works, in which the besiegers and besieged had various fortunes. According to Todleben, the Russians generally had the best of these night encounters and sorties. He repeatedly remarks on the want of vigilance and care of the English; and contrasts us unfavourably with the French. He says—"The enemy opposed the construction of the rifle-pit and lodgment but feebly, while the besieged alarmed them by frequent night attacks. These attacks were most frequently directed against the English, who performed trench duty very negligently. Almost every night our *Tirailleurs*, in small numbers—sometimes one man alone—making the attempt, left the rifle-pit; advanced boldly towards the British trenches; fired on the working batteries, with the muzzle almost touching, and threw them back into disorder."

But we must hasten on. As the winter advanced, the English and Turks, deprived of their warm clothing, suffered frightfully. The situation of the French was less painful; but they were by no means supplied with all the necessaries. Towards the end of October the French army was provided with warm clothing. The English did not receive theirs till November; but the coats were not sent in sufficient quantity, and did not answer the purpose. There was no harmony between the different branches. The commanders of the troops took no care of the food or well-being of their soldiers. Moreover, the English soldier is not in a position to help himself. Todleben remarks—"The ranks of the English army are filled, almost exclusively, by men unacquainted with any sort of trade, and who have no other means of subsistence than entering the service. Such a soldier is quite unfit to get on in the more difficult moments of campaigning; and so it was that the greater part of the misery the British soldiers had to endure, arose from the fact, that the army, as a whole, was incapable, without receiving help from abroad, of overcoming obstacles arising from the circumstances in which it was placed. Rains destroyed the roads, and no one thought of repairing them. Transport and saddle-horses perished of cold in multitudes, and their dead bodies were left to rot,



till the fetid atmosphere forced the authorities to order their removal. In March, 1855, the railway was finished by the English; for which, not only the materials, but even workmen and engineers were sent out from England, which proves how unfit the English army is, of itself, to overcome the difficulties which are so often encountered in a soldier's life. A deplorable confusion prevailed at Balaklava. Ships discharged their cargo wherever they found it convenient. No one knew what had arrived, or was coming. Sometimes the soldiers were in need of the very articles which had been landed in the harbour. The same discreditable management was visible in the treatment of the sick and the wounded; and there was as much disorder there as in the administration of the army itself. As the numbers of the English diminished, those of the French increased; and, at last, the latter occupied, successively, the positions which at first had been reserved exclusively for the English along the Tchernaya, and opposite the Karabelnaia. As to the Turks, the allies despised them, and the English used them as beasts of burden. In short, they lost 300 men a day, till they almost perished out, and the remains of their army were sent away." The siege progressed but slowly under these disadvantageous circumstances. All through January, the Russians directed frequent sorties, sometimes two or three in the night—in the vast majority of instances against the French trenches. Towards the close of the month, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael arrived on the north side. But no remarkable event followed till February the 3rd, when, at nine o'clock in the evening, Todleben fired his countermine, and blew up the French, who were advancing their gallery towards the capital of the Flagstaff bastion, in the most perfect ignorance of the Russian operations. From that date began the conflict of mines, countermines, globes of compression, and all the machinery of subterranean war and strategy, which lasted throughout the siege, and has left indelible traces before Sebastopol, in the very rocks themselves. On the 17th of February the Russians attacked Eupatoria. The attempt was vigorously resisted, and was altogether unsuccessful. The garrison of Turks and French, assisted by the fire of one French and two English steamers, and by the Tartars, repulsed the enemy, with a loss of 769 men killed and wounded, and 365 horses. The czar was intensely mortified by the failure of the attack; but Todleben says it produced advantageous results, as the allies were always obliged to be on the alert against attack, and to keep a considerable garrison there in a vast intrenched camp.

As spring came on, all parties were reinforced. France, by means of the conscription, had no difficulty in the matter. In England it was not so easy a work. The militia were called out to replace the troops, so as to furnish volunteers; but, eventually, the English government was obliged to seek for men in Switzerland and Germany; though, in both places, with but limited success. The allies were also joined by a new state. At the commencement of the year, the Piedmontese, or Sardinian government, signed the protocol of April, 1854; and Victor Emmanuel gave in his adhesion to the western powers, and despatched 15,000 men, under General Marmora, to the seat of war.

On the 2nd of March, news came that the czar—the man whose unruly ambition had plunged Europe into war—was dead. At first a suspicion arose that the Emperor Nicholas had met with the fate that had overtaken so many of his predecessors: the surmise was natural, but it proved to be unfounded. Though his death was unexpected, he had been more than usually unwell for twelve days. It was said that the illness which caused, or rather preceded his death, was brought on by a cold. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the emperor, all the while, insisted on attending to his usual avocation. His anxiety for the success of the war into which he had rushed, induced him to inspect everything himself, down to the minutest details. He visited the soldiers in their barracks; he attended long and frequent reviews, forgetful of the precautions which his age required in such a climate, and in such a season. To all the observations made to him by his children and his most devoted servants, he replied that he had something



else to do besides taking care of his health. He had, besides, treated himself according to his own ideas; and had insisted on his physicians putting him on a regimen which would prevent his getting corpulent—a condition of which he had considerable dread. It was evident to all, that disappointment and vexation with regard to the Crimean war, accelerated the ravages of disease. There is no doubt but that he felt the state of affairs there bitterly. He expired on the morning of the 2nd of March; and his death was attributed to pulmonic apoplexy, or congestion of the lungs. He was born on the 6th of July, 1796. He succeeded his brother Alexander, as emperor, on the 1st of December, 1825: he was therefore in the fifty-ninth year of his age; and had filled the imperial throne of the czars for nearly thirty years.

At first it was presumed that a speedy peace would be the result of the czar's death; and, both in London and Paris, the funds rose considerably. Such hopes were destined to a speedy disappointment. On the day of his father's death, the Emperor Alexander soon made known to his people the course he intended to pursue. On that very day he issued a warlike manifesto, in which he promised to address himself to accomplish the views of his predecessors, Peter, Catherine, Alexander, and of his father.

Dull and dreary is the war chronicle now; and we hasten over it. At Vienna, a congress was held to bring about peace. At this congress, all the great powers of Europe, with the exception of Prussia, were represented. It was clear from the result, however, that the time had not yet come to talk of peace.

As the spring advanced, the accounts from the Crimea, of the state of our troops, became more satisfactory. The spirits and the health of the army revived; and, at length, preparations were made for the renewal of the bombardment of Sebastopol. At daybreak on the morning of the 9th of April, a fire from the French and English batteries was opened, such as the annals of the world never recorded. The enemy was taken by surprise; and for some minutes not a Russian gun replied to the tremendous salvo with which they had been greeted. They soon, however, recovered themselves, though it was an hour before they got their batteries into full play. All day long, through the mist and rain, that bombardment continued; nor did night put a stop to it, for a shot was fired every ten minutes. To the intense mortification of all, it was soon apparent that this bombardment was a failure, though it was continued for twelve days. Ton after ton of shot was hurled against the fortress; an occasional, but indecisive, superiority of fire was obtained; the parapets of the Redan and Round Tower were jagged and pitted with holes several feet deep: but the real strength of the place remained unimpaired; and that which was injured by day, the Russians, as usual, repaired by night.

On the 18th of May, the French had a new commander-in-chief. Canrobert resigned, nominally on account of ill-health; and General Pelissier, an older and sterner man, nursed in African warfare, took the vacated post.

At this time, also, the French and English fleets paid a visit to the Straits of Kertch, and penetrated into the Sea of Azoff. Kertch and Yenikale, Taganrog, and other places were captured, and considerable damage was done to the enemy.

The new French commander was determined to do something to signalise his assumption of the command. The Mamelon Tower, with the works fronting and flanking that elevated position, was regarded by many engineers and military judges, as the true key of the entire fortress of Sebastopol. Accordingly, the French commander resolved that the Mamelon should be taken, and chiefly by his own men. On the 6th of June, therefore, a fierce cannonade was opened from the French and English lines, and continued for about three hours. The next morning it was renewed, principally by the English, with great spirit: the attack commenced in the afternoon. The English were to take the Quarries, in front of the Redan, while our allies secured the Mamelon; and both succeeded, though the English had to maintain a murderous fight during the whole night through.



The French had the harder task, but they performed it admirably. Unable to restrain their enthusiasm after entering the Mamelon, they actually rushed on to the famous Malakoff itself, and eventually succeeded in entering the tower, and spiking seven guns; but they were compelled to retire with heavy loss. It was a pity that the allies did not at once follow up this success. As usual, they waited, and gave the enemy time for preparation. On the 18th, it was resolved that the French were to take the Malakoff; and the English, as soon as the former had succeeded, to capture the Redan. The French attacking force consisted of 25,000 men; the English, 8,000, under the veteran Sir G. Brown. The Russians were fully prepared for the allies. The French, unable to control their ardour, made a premature attack. Lord Raglan, seeing their dangerous position, launched his men upon the Redan, who met with a most awful fire, such as Lord Raglan says he never witnessed in his life. In fifteen minutes they were repulsed. The French fared little better: their loss, on this fatal day, amounted to 8,684 killed, wounded, or missing. During the attack the allied fleets played their part, and poured a heavy fire into the town, though not without loss to themselves. It was on this occasion that Captain Lyons, the hero of the Sea of Azoff, received his death-wound.

Scarcely was the repulse of the allies known in England, when it was followed by the information that Lord Raglan was no more. After a few days' illness, he sunk under an attack of dysentery, and expired on the evening of the 26th of June, in his sixty-seventh year. Mental anxiety undoubtedly contributed, to no small extent, to produce this unexpected catastrophe. His lordship was the eighth son of the fifth Duke of Beaufort; and, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, entered the army at the age of sixteen, as a cornet in the 4th Dragoons. In 1807, he accompanied the late Duke of Wellington to Denmark. He afterwards went with the illustrious hero to the Peninsula, as military secretary and aide-de-camp. Lord Somerset obtained distinction at Fuentes d'Onor; at the storming of Badajoz; at the battles of Vittoria, Orthes, Nivelles, and Toulouse. On his return to England, he was rewarded for his services with a cross and five clasps. He afterwards served with the duke at Quatre Bras and Waterloo; and at the latter place lost his arm. After the termination of the war, he was made secretary to the embassy to the Court of France; and was secretary to the Master-general of the Ordnance from 1819 to 1827. He was made colonel of the 53rd Foot in 1830; and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1838. In 1847, he was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath; and on the death of the Duke of Wellington, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Raglan, made a Privy Councillor, and appointed Master-general of the Ordnance. Lord Raglan's personal bravery was indisputable. As to his qualities as a leader of armies, they do not appear to have been of the highest order; and it is said Pelissier complained more than once of his slowness. He was not a military genius. He possessed considerable professional experience, great application, and remarkable powers of endurance; but he lacked the energy, vehemence, and decision of character which are essential to the constitution of a renowned general. For the miserable state of our army in the Crimea he was partly responsible. Clearly he was not the man for his place; but he was sent, little dreaming that there would be anything like serious war. His successor was Lieutenant-General Simpson, hitherto chief of the staff, who bore the reputation of having been a very efficient and popular colonel when in command of the 29th Foot; but who, for some years, until the Crimean war broke out, had filled no higher office than that of the commander of the Portsmouth garrison. He had the merit of being considered, as regards military talent, quite equal to any other candidate for the exalted office.

In August, the monotony of camp life was relieved by an attack, on the part of the Russians, on the allied army occupying the Tchernaya line. The latter were well prepared, as a deserter had brought a rumour of some such an event to the parties in danger. During the night of the 16th, the Russians silently quitted



their intrenched camp, under cover of a thick fog; and, by five in the morning, arrived before the advanced posts of the French and Sardinian armies. The Russians were supposed to be 50,000 strong, with 6,000 cavalry, and 160 guns. The first column having crossed the river, advanced with an *élan* seldom seen in the dogged troops of that nation, till they found themselves in the midst of a storm of round shot, grape, and shell, which mowed them down in the most frightful manner. Despite of this, they pushed up the side of the hill till they were taken in flank by the Sardinian batteries, and then they reeled, and fled for shelter to some old willows on the banks of the stream. Here they met and joined the second column, which climbed the hill, and came out on level ground. There they were met by the French, who, after a deadly fire of artillery, charged them with the bayonet, and sent them headlong down the hill, taking many prisoners. A third attack was made, but equally in vain. The losses of the Russians were between four and five thousand in killed and wounded. About 400 prisoners were taken by the French. Their loss was estimated at 180 killed, and 810 wounded; that of the Sardinians, 300 in killed and wounded. A Russian general officer, who had been wounded, was carried to the French ambulances. He was much depressed, and said—"This is a sad day of disgrace for Russia, not to have set free the passage of the Tchernaya, defended by one French division."

This blow was soon followed up by another. In consequence of the defeat of the Russian army of relief at the Tchernaya, the engineers and artillery officers of the allied armies laid a report before the generals, recommending that a terrible bombardment should be commenced on the 5th of September, and continued for three days; after which an assault on the Malakoff and Great Redan should take place. The French were already within twenty-five yards of the former: unhappily, the English, on account of their limited numbers, and the difficulties of the ground, were still 200 yards from the latter. However, the bombardment was arranged; and as soon as the Malakoff was in possession of the French, the English were to deliver their assault.

September the 5th was a bright morning, and auspicious for the allies, who commenced bombarding—happily for the last time—night and day: the shot and shell flew towards the crumbling defences of the ill-fated town. On the 12th, the French rushed on to the Malakoff like waves of the sea, and with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The Russians on the parapets were killed as they stood; and then commenced such a fire of musketry as never echoed round the ravines of Sebastopol before. In half-an-hour the tricolour floated proudly over the Malakoff; though, till half-past seven, the French had to meet and drive back the enemy, who fought with the fury of despair.

It was now the turn of the English. Immediately the signal was given our men bounded from their trenches, and were instantly met with a volley of grape from the Russian guns, which struck down nearly one-third of them. The second body of stormers followed rapidly on the heels of the first; and, as they approached closer to the Redan, the fire of the enemy became less fatal. The *abattis* was crossed without much difficulty, for it was torn into pieces by our shot. The ditch, fifteen feet deep, was the next obstacle. Many of the ladders were left, on the way, in the hands of men who were shot down while carrying them, and the others were found to be short. Whether our men got into the Redan or not is uncertain. Whether they did or not, it is certain that, as the alarm was spread, the Russians soon poured into the work in immense numbers, and opened a terrible fire on our men, who had either neglected to spike the Russian guns, or, perhaps, had not had time to do so. The English general neglected to send reinforcements, and an unequal and bloody contest was maintained for nearly an hour. A scene of strange confusion followed. "In vain," writes Mr. Russell, "the officers, by voice and acts, by example and daring, tried to urge the soldiers on. They had an impression that the Redan was all mined, and that, if they advanced, they would be blown up; but many of them acted as became the men of Alma and Inkermann, and, rushing



to the front, were swept down by the enemy's fire. The officers fell on all sides, singled out by the enemy for their courage. The men of the different regiments became mingled together in inextricable confusion. The 19th men did not care for the officers of the 88th; nor did the soldiers of the 23rd heed the command of an officer who did not belong to their own regiment. The officers could not find their men—the men had lost sight of their own officers. All the brigadiers, save Colonel Windham, were wounded or unfit for duty. That gallant officer did all that man could do to form his men, and lead them against the enemy; but in vain." Every moment, also, our men were diminishing in numbers; while the Russians came up in masses from the town, and rushed down from the Malakoff, which had now been occupied by the French. General Windham sent several officers to General Codrington, begging for support. At last he went himself. Crossing the parapet and ditch through a storm of bullets, he succeeded in getting to the fifth parallel in safety. Sir Edward Codrington told him to take the Royals, who were then in the parallel. He did so, with the assurance that, if the men kept their formation, the Redan would still be taken.

Alas! the Redan was not captured by the English that day. The Russians not only swept down our confused regiments with grape, but charged them with the bayonet. A short, desperate, but bloody struggle ensued. Our men—many of them raw recruits, who never should have been sent on such an errand—fought under every disadvantage, and were finally overpowered. The solid weight of the advancing mass, swelled each moment from the rear by company after company, and battalion after battalion, at length swept the English before them, and hurled them into the ditch, where the dead, the wounded, and the unhurt were all lying in one promiscuous heap. The Russians at first came out of the embrasures, and fired and hurled stones at the struggling soldiers in the ditch; but they were soon driven back by the fire of our batteries and riflemen, under cover of which numbers of our men returned to the trenches. Then there came out the melancholy truth that the English attack had failed. The struggle had lasted about an hour and three-quarters; but the slaughter was as great as the battle of Inkermann. The loss of the English in this disastrous affair, was twenty-nine officers, thirty-six sergeants, six drummers, 314 rank and file, killed; 124 officers, 142 sergeants, twelve drummers, 1,608 rank and file, wounded; one officer, twelve sergeants, 168 rank and file, missing. Total—killed, 385; wounded, 1,886; missing, 176—2,447. The French loss was, in all, 7,551. It is true they carried the Malakoff, the key of the position; but they failed in their attempt on Careening Bay and the Central bastion.

General Simpson made an arrangement for a second assault the next morning—to be undertaken by the Highlanders, under Sir Colin Campbell; supported by the third division, under General Eyre. The attack was destined never to take place; for the Russian general, well knowing that the Malakoff was the key of the south side of Sebastopol, and that the rest must inevitably fall, put into practice an intention he had for some time conceived; and abandoned to the enemy the famous fortress he had so long defended with such consummate skill and persevering energy.

About eight o'clock on Saturday evening, the Russians, under cover of the darkness, began to withdraw quietly from the town. To divert attention from the retreat of his troops, General Gortschakoff ordered a fire of musketry to be kept up from his advanced posts. About eleven, many explosions took place, though it was not known then that the enemy were blowing up their magazines. Shortly after midnight, the men in our trenches observed that there was an unusual silence within the Redan. At length, some of the soldiers crept up to it, and they found it deserted by all but the wounded. About two o'clock, fires broke out in various parts of the city, and the flames soon spread to all the principal buildings. Then came terrific explosions, which shook the allied camps, and enveloped the doomed city in a burning pall, merging into dense and dark clouds of smoke. At half-past five in the morning, two of the southern forts were hurled into the air, accom-



panied by the upward rush of a multitude of shells, which exploded in all directions. The lurid glare revealed the fact that the baffled Russians were passing, in dense masses, over the bridge of boats which spanned the narrow arm of the sea dividing the south from the north side of Sebastopol. Nor could the allies attack them. The Russian general had acted with a wisdom and foresight worthy of the terrible resistance he had made. He had secured his retreat by placing a burning town between himself and his foes, from which immense magazines of gunpowder and shells constantly shot roaring into the air, and threatened destruction to any one who entered it. The allied armies might well pause ere they ventured on a pursuit under such circumstances. Prince Gortschakoff gave, as his reason for the evacuation of the fortress—as he might very properly do—the infernal fire of the allies.

Before seven on the morning of the 9th, the Russian battalions had passed over to the north side. Explosions still rent the air, and added to the awful grandeur of the scene. The Russian men-of-war in the harbour were all abandoned and sunk. In the allied armies there was joy and rejoicing at the sight of Sebastopol a blackened heap of ruins. The French and English generals hastened to congratulate their troops upon the vast triumphs that had been obtained; and, in the language of a poet who is nameless—

“Now the allied banners float  
Above each dreaded moat,  
And Victory's trumpet-note  
Rings past the Mamelon.  
Four nations' flags now sweep  
The Malakoff's high steep;  
And mirror'd in the deep,  
Beneath which lie his ships,  
Buried in a deep eclipse,  
With all his glory gone.”

The town, when entered by the besiegers, was in an awful state; and the scene in the Russian hospital, where some hundreds of the czar's wounded soldiers were left to die, beggars description. Still the Russian spirit was unbroken. It was evident that the despot of the north would not give way unless the very existence of his empire was in jeopardy. Two days after the fall of Sebastopol, a brief armistice was granted to the Russians, to enable them to remove their wounded to the north side of the harbour. During this melancholy work, an English officer, addressing a Russian one, said—“Well, now I hope we may look forward to a cessation of hostilities between us.” The Muscovite pointed gloomily to the burning city, and replied—“With that before us, peace is further off than ever.” Such, it is believed, was the general spirit of his countrymen. The time for peace had not yet arrived.

Thus ended this memorable siege, the glory of which rests rather with the defence. “The Russians,” says the French engineer, General Neil, “had more than 800 guns mounted, and a garrison the force and composition of which they could vary at leisure. After the immense quantity of projectiles they expended upon us, it is surprising to see that they were still abundantly provisioned; and I have reason to believe that they have left more than 1,500 guns in the place. The besieging army had about 700 guns in battery during the various attacks, and upwards of 1,600,000 shots were fired. Our approaches, which were in many cases cut through the rock by means of gunpowder, had an extent of eighty kilometres (fifty miles English). We employed 80,000 gabions, 60,000 fascines, and nearly 1,000,000 sand-bags.”

Of the Russian loss there have been many estimates. According to Todleben, the whole loss of the garrison of Sebastopol, from fire and combat during the siege, was 89,142. In that total, the losses at Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann, and other places, are not included.

In Paris and London, the intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol excited the



utmost enthusiasm. The Queen of England sent an address of congratulation to her army. The French emperor did the same. Pelissier was made a marshal—an event the English government burlesqued by making a field-marshal of General Simpson, for his skilful conduct of the affair of the Redan, possibly. There were those who said that the English government did not wish to hurt Russia. If so, General Simpson must have been, even more than Lord Raglan, a general to their mind.

The warlike stores found in Sebastopol were immense. They were divided into three parts; of which France took two, and England one. Instead of retreating from the Crimea, the Russians commenced throwing up earthworks, and strengthening the north side, with that rapidity and industry of which they had already given so many remarkable examples.

The allies employed themselves in many ways. By land, the French and Turks threatened Perekop. The gun-boats made various expeditions, more or less successful, on their own account. The allied fleets sailed from Sebastopol on the 7th of October, and, in great strength, appeared before Odessa. The city was, however, again spared; and the fleet sailed to Kinburn, which surrendered after an obstinate defence. The land forces attached to the expedition then started on a march inland, towards Cherson; and a flotilla proceeded to the mouth of the river Bug. Another made for the mouth of the river Dnieper. At Nicholaieff, the great Russian dockyard, the Russian emperor had remained during the bombardment of Kinburn. The allied squadron, after the death of the French admiral, Bruat, returned to Balaklava and Kamiesch, leaving a few vessels behind, to preserve the ascendancy gained on the Sea of Azoff. They not only did this, but, in many ways, extended the ravages already committed there.

General Simpson left the Crimea, on his return to England, on November 12th, and General Codrington reigned in his stead. He had been popular till the affair of the Redan. "History," says Mr. Tyrrell, the author of a valuable work on the Russian war,\* "will unequivocally declare, that no officer should have undertaken such a terrible exploit as that of the assault of the Redan, with so insufficient a force as that Sir William Codrington sent against it. His conduct, on that occasion, was as if a fireman should attempt to extinguish a fierce and wide-spreading conflagration with a garden syringe."

On the 15th of November an appalling incident occurred. A park of French artillery exploded, killing sixty-five French, and wounding 170: of the English, one officer and twenty non-commissioned officers were killed; four officers and 112 non-commissioned officers and men wounded. Otherwise, the men were well off, and happy, and revelling in a comparative luxury, of which they had no idea the November preceding. M. Soyer, with his improved cookery, also did much service in the camp. When Christmas came it was observed in true old English style.

Towards the end of the year, rumours of coming peace began to circulate throughout Europe. On the 28th of December, the Austrian government despatched Count Valentine Esterhazy to St. Petersburg, with certain propositions for the acceptance of Russia. These propositions had been first presented to the English and French Courts, and received their approval. They were—

"1. *The Danubian Principalities*.—Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate. 2. As regards *the Danube*, its freedom, and that of the mouth of the river, shall be efficaciously assured by the institutions of European international law. Each of the contracting parties to have the right to station one or two light vessels at the mouth of the river, in order to ensure the observance of the regulations relative to the freedom of the Danube. 3. *Neutralisation of the Black Sea*.—This sea shall be opened to merchant vessels; closed to ships of war. Consequently, naval arsenals will be neither created nor desired. The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of all nations shall be assured in the respective

\* Published by the London Printing and Publishing Company.



ports in the Black Sea, by the establishment of institutions conformed to international law and ancient usages in this matter. The two powers bordered by the coast mutually engage to keep up only the number of light vessels, of a stipulated strength, necessary for the coasting service. 4. *Christian subjects of the Porte*.—The immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte will be established without injury to the independence or the dignity of the sultan's crown. As deliberations are taking place between Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Sublime Porte, in order to assure the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights, Russia shall be invited, on the conclusion of peace, to associate herself with them. 5. The belligerent powers reserve the right which belongs to them, to produce, in the interest of Europe, some special conditions besides the four guarantees." Russia made counter-proposals; and then, to the astonishment of all, notified to Count Esterhazy (January 16th) the *unconditional* acceptance, by the Russian government, of the Austrian proposals, which were to serve as preliminaries of peace. The suddenness of this acceptance took all men by surprise. In England the news was scarcely welcome. War, we believed, would restore our *prestige*; and we were, therefore, all for war. Our preparations for the next campaign were enormous; and we fancied, after the sad blunders of the past, there was a bright future of glory, and victory, and success before us. With our illustrious allies the case was different. France was jubilant. She had gained reputation all the world over by the war; but her resources had been drawn upon so heavily, that all felt it, and were almost ready to complain. The Emperor Napoleon was also satisfied with the result of the war, and anxious for the return of peace. Not only had Russia been humbled, but Napoleon had given the army and the French public something to think of and do; and many restless spirits, who might have made him very uneasy at home, had thus been got rid of. It was believed, in many quarters, that the war had been undertaken by him for dynastic purposes, and was to be concluded for the benefit of the same dynasty; and certainly, in the conduct and conclusion of the war, there was a great deal to support this view. The German states and Austria were delighted, as they feared France and England, and had no wish to see them carrying on a war which might become a crusade for freedom in Europe. So peace was the order of the day; and, as Prince Napoleon exclaimed, "Then Poland and Italy are sacrificed." Sardinia was less satisfied than England.

The acceptance of the peace proposals by Russia, was attributed largely to the pacific temper and resolution, on that point, of the emperor himself. It is said, that when the acceptance of the Austrian proposals was declared, that Alexander called none of the chief men of the empire to the council; that he sent for no one except Count de Nesselrode, M. de Seniavine, and M. de Jouton (and for them only), to hear his irrevocable decision, and to order them to transmit it to Vienna, and Count Esterhazy. There was no advice, and no discussion: the sovereign gave the order; the great dignitaries of his empire obeyed; and that was all they had to do. The members of the imperial family knew nothing of the affair before the persons just mentioned. One alone, the Empress Maria, was acquainted with the decision of her husband, since it was greatly through her influence that it was arrived at. In addition to her entreaties, it was added, that Prince Gortschakoff was constantly sending despatches of the most alarming character, which invariably terminated with such phrases as this—"I foresee the most serious complications for us if we continue the war. I entreat your majesty to adhere to the conditions proposed; the whole of Europe declares against Russia." The emperor engaged one of his younger brothers to impart the views of the acceptance of the peace proposals to the fire-eating Constantine.

On the 25th of February, the peace conferences opened at Paris. France was represented by Count Walewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Emperor, and Baron de Bourqueney, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Vienna. England, by the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Cowley. Austria, by Count



Buol-Schauenstein, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; and Baron de Hubner, the Austrian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris. Russia, by Count Orloff, Member of the Council of the Empire, and Aide-de-Camp General of the Emperor of Russia ; and Baron de Brunow, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation. For Sardinia, there appeared Count Cavour and the Marquis de Villa Marina ; while Turkey was represented by Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of his Majesty the Sultan ; and Mehemet Djemil Bey, the Turkish ambassador at Paris. Prussia was afterwards admitted to sign, not to discuss, the terms of peace. The first thing agreed to was an armistice, to last till March 31st. No difficulties were in the way ; and the czar signed the treaty March 19th.

The peace congress held its last meeting on the 16th of April. The protocols of the conference were eventually published, and filled a parliamentary paper of 112 pages. They were twenty-four in number. The terms in which they are drawn up, are, as may be supposed, dry and formal ; and relate almost exclusively to the details of the treaty of peace. One, reporting a speech of Count Walewski's, attracted much attention, and threatened to have some bad results. The subject was the condition of Europe, with respect to the states of Greece and Italy. That, however, which excited most remark, was an attack on the Belgian press, in which proceedings of an arbitrary character were recommended to the Belgian government, and something very like a threat held out unless they were adopted. In this paper the count remarks—

“He considers it superfluous to state, that there are, every day, printed in Belgium, publications the most insulting, the most hostile against France and her government ; that revolts and assassination are openly advocated in them. He remarks that, quite recently, Belgian newspapers have ventured to extol the society called ‘La Marianne,’ the tendencies and objects of which are known ; that all these publications are so many implements of war, directed against the repose and tranquillity of France, by the enemies of social order, who, relying on the impunity which they find under the shelter of Belgian legislation, retain the hope of eventually realising their culpable designs. Count Walewski declares, that the intention and sole desire of the government of the empire, is to maintain the best relations with Belgium. He readily adds that France has reason to be satisfied with the Belgian government, and with its efforts to mitigate a state of things which it is unable to alter ; its legislation not allowing it either to restrain the excesses of the press, or to take the initiative in a reform which has become absolutely indispensable. We should regret to be obliged ourselves to make Belgium comprehend the strict necessity for modifying a legislature which does not allow its government to fulfil the first of international duties—that of not assailing, or allowing to be assailed, the internal tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Representations, addressed by the stronger to the less strong, have too much the appearance of menace ; and that is what we desire to avoid. But if the representatives of the great powers of Europe, viewing in the same light with ourselves this necessity, should find it useful to express their opinion in this respect, it is more than probable that the Belgian government, relying upon all reasonable persons in Belgium, would be able to put an end to a state of things which cannot fail, sooner or later, to give rise to difficulties, and every real danger, which it is the interest of Belgium to avert beforehand.”

Another proposal of the count's related to a subject on which England has always been very susceptible. The paper continues—

“Count Walewski proposes to the congress to conclude its work by a declaration, which would constitute a remarkable advance in international law, and which would be received by the whole world with a sentiment of lively gratitude. The congress of Westphalia, he adds, sanctioned liberty of conscience ; the congress of Vienna, abolition of the slave-trade, and the freedom of the navigation of rivers. It would be truly worthy of the congress of Paris to lay down the basis of an



uniform maritime law, in time of war, as regards neutrals. The four following principles would completely effect that object. 1. The abolition of privateering. 2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, except contraband of war. 3. Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture, even under enemy's flags. 4. Blockades are not binding except in so far as they are effective. This would, indeed, be a glorious result, to which none of us could be indifferent."

On Sunday, April the 27th, the congress assembled, to exchange the ratifications of the treaty, and thus peace was formally restored to Europe. On the following day, Lord Palmerston, by command of her majesty, laid upon the table of the House of Commons the papers of the conferences recently held at Paris, and copies of the treaty of peace. Then, amidst loud cheers, he announced his intention of moving that it should be taken into consideration that day week.

On the 2nd of May, information of the conclusion of peace arrived in the Crimea. It was announced to the allied armies by salutes of 101 guns, fired from each of the three camps. Many of the ships were dressed with flags, and presented a festive appearance. The Russians heard the roar of the guns of the allies, but they maintained a sullen silence. In the English camp the news was received with less emotion than might be supposed. Many of the officers and men longed to return home; but there were others who regretted peace, as the British army was in such a splendid condition, and capable of winning much renown.

Extensive preparations were now made for the evacuation of the Crimea, and a considerable stream of stores was poured into the several ports of embarkation. War, and the feelings created by war, had passed away; and the Russians and their recent enemies met together in a very friendly manner. On the 9th, the following notice was issued to the troops:—"The English army is no longer restrained from passing the Tchernaya. All officers are to be present in camp at night; and all non-commissioned officers and men to be present at the usual roll-calls, unless they are in possession of written passes from their own commanding officers." This welcome intelligence added greatly to the growing intimacy between our troops and the Russians. After this the latter formed part of the population which daily frequented the camps and the bazaars; and not only the Russian camp, but the towns of Baktchiserai and Simpheropol were visited by many of our officers, in spite of a friendly warning from the Russians that typhus fever was raging in these places. The Russian officers came frequently to Kadikoi, Little Kamiesch, and the several bazaars and canteens, for supplies, which they obtained for about half the price such articles fetched in their own camp.

In England, as if to show what we could have done, on the 23rd of April there was a grand naval review at Portsmouth, at which the queen was present, and many eminent foreigners. The fleet consisted of 240 steam-vessels, including gun-boats, floating batteries, and mortar vessels. Of these, three had more than 100 guns each, and six had ninety-one. The rest carried from two guns each to eighty. Altogether they mounted no less than 3,002 guns; and possessed 30,671 horse-power. This enormous fleet, covering a space of nearly twelve miles as it lay at anchor, was manned by not less than 30,000 men. On the 4th of May, sermons were preached, in consequence of the peace, of a thankful character. In the same month there was a peace celebration at the Crystal Palace; and a national celebration on the 29th, on a large scale. In London, the day was observed, in most parts, as a holiday. In the evening London was brilliantly illuminated, and exhibitions of fireworks took place, which exceeded in magnitude and beauty all previous pyrotechnic displays in this country. All the resources of Woolwich arsenal had been for some time in operation, in designing and producing what was required. Four exhibitions of fireworks took place—one in Hyde Park; a second in the Green Park; a third on Primrose Hill; and a fourth at Victoria Park. This was done for the convenience of the people of London, and to prevent a dangerous crowding to one spot. Nor were the rejoicings confined to London. Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and many other



towns and cities shared in the general joy. Yet it was felt by many of the English public, who believed, somehow or other, the Crimean war would end in a gain to liberty, that peace was incomplete without the freedom of the nationalities. Many quoted Mrs. Browning, and said, with her—

“ It is no peace,  
Annihilated Poland, stifled Rome,  
Dazed Naples ; Hungary, fainting 'neath the thong,  
And Austria wearing a smooth olive-leaf  
On her brutal forehead, while her hoofs outpress  
The life from Italy.”

Yet such had no right to complain. They had no ground for their sanguine and illusory expectations. As Mr. Cobden, who consistently opposed the war, said, “ we made an agreement with a despot, to go to war with a despot, on behalf of another despot.” Certainly the friends of freedom and oppressed nationalities had little cause to grumble.

A few closing words about the Crimea. The impression left on the minds of those officers who made expeditions to Simpheropol and other places in the interior, was, that the resources of Russia in men were reduced to a very low state indeed, in consequence of the war, and that she would have been unable to maintain an army in the Crimea, if the allies had made an aggressive movement with all their forces. From Theodosia to Eupatoria the country was deserted ; the fields uncultivated ; and the mere necessities of life fetched almost famine prices. At some places the English tourists were unable to procure barley or corn for their horses for any consideration. At others, a mouthful of hay for a horse cost half a rouble ; an egg, fivepence ; and a fowl a small fortune.

The final evacuation of the Crimea, and its restoration to the Russians, was at hand. In the middle of July, Sebastopol, now a complete ruin—for the allies completed what the Russians had begun—was handed over to the latter. Already the Guards had returned from the seat of war, and had been reviewed by her majesty at Aldershot. Banquets were given to the officers and generals in all parts of the kingdom. Nor were the men forgotten. A public banquet was given to the men in the Royal Surrey Gardens, on Monday, the 25th of August. Sergeant-Major Edwards, the senior sergeant of the Guards, occupied the chair. A similar banquet was given at Portsmouth, to about 2,300 soldiers, sailors, and marines. Of course our brave allies were not forgotten. The queen sent medals, and thanks, and orders in abundance. Indeed, the gratitude of parliament, and queen, and people was somewhat over-done. England had been disgraced in the eyes of all Europe. Todleben frankly states “ the inability of our army to struggle against the difficulties created by a rotten civil organisation at home, and an imbecile military administration abroad.” Our soldiers had suffered unheard-of calamities. They had been left to perish by famine, cold, pestilence, and war ; and yet their leaders—the men who should have taken care of them, but did not—the men who kept all these things veiled, so that the government of this country actually knew nothing of the matter till the public press revealed the true and shocking state of affairs, were *fêted*, and decorated, and promoted, as if they had covered the country with immortal renown.

But we may not leave this part of the subject without referring to the Baltic campaign, and the siege of Kars.

Sir Charles Napier was superseded in his command of the Baltic fleet, and Admiral Dundas sent in his place. Sir Charles talked well, and promised much. He had under his command the finest ships that ever left the shores of this or any other country. He had, besides, unlimited power, and the confidence of the public at large. At the great dinner given to him (to which we have already referred), he is said to have declared that he would take Cronstadt in a month, or go to a place not to be mentioned to ears polite. He bragged and strutted in the



most absurd and astounding manner. He vowed that if he did not find war declared by the time he got there, he would declare it himself. Soon after he left Spithead, he telegraphed to his crews to "sharpen their cutlasses;" and, as an earnest of what he meant to do, he signalled for large quantities of chloroform, in anticipation of the frightful operations his valour would render necessary: and he ended by capturing Bomarsund, and declaring that the granite walls of Cronstadt, Sweaborg, and Helsingfors were impregnable. He got into parliament, and came before the public as an ill-used man. In reality he was nothing of the kind. Mr. Russell mentions a curious fact in connection with the Grand Duke Constantine and the defences of Cronstadt, which we relate in his own words. "Sir Charles Napier, in the account of his extraordinary experiences of Cronstadt, forgot one important fact. He talked much of the difficulties, and insinuated the impossibilities, of an attack on the place; and mentioned, especially, the impediments created by the genius of Todleben, in the passage at the north of the forts. But Sir Charles did not tell his countrymen what the grand duke is at no pains to conceal—that the passage was quite practicable when the allied fleet first came off Cronstadt; and that the impediments to the passage of large ships were not formed till the winter of the second year of the war. The Russians were perfectly aware that the northern side could be forced, and that it was quite possible for a determined enemy to run past the forts, most of which are constructed on arcs of spheres, have their *maximum* of fire directed in front, and have only part of their guns available for an enemy passing their right flank. They had even such a casualty in view; and the most desperate measures were spoken of in case the fleets forced St. Petersburg, and the city was at their mercy. The opportunity was lost, and the grand duke and Todleben took care it should never occur again. The moment the allies retired before the grip of winter, thousands of men were set to work, who sunk stones all along the northern channel, or heaped piles of hundreds of tons of blocks of granite on the ice, which went through to the bottom as it melted, and formed a line of artificial rocks across the passage. On some of those rocks batteries were erected, guns were placed to cover the approach, and the place was indeed rendered unassailable by large vessels. Why did not Sir Charles tell us when this was done? Surely nothing of the kind took place until after his abortive demonstration in the summer of 1854."

Such charges prepared the people for disappointment. Sweaborg was bombarded, and laid in ashes; other injury was done to the coasts of Russia; many boarding vessels were taken, and much injury was inflicted on her people; but Cronstadt remained impregnable; and the fleet returned home with no laurels worth mentioning—safe and sound it is true, but not in the state, or with the glory, England expected when it sailed away a year before. The vessels passed their time, while preserving the blockade, in firing at targets, or occasionally destroying a Russian telegraph-station. Sometimes a number of gun-boats would come out of their harbour in Cronstadt; but they took care not to venture beyond the protection of their batteries; and, on the advance of our boats, always put their helms, and returned to port with a judicious and amusing alacrity. More mischief might have been done; but, to the deep disgrace of the Admiralty, there was no reserve of mortars. The *Times* observed truly—"The fleet took out just a score of 13-inch mortars, neither more nor less; capable of firing, on the average, about 230 rounds a-piece. As the 13-inch mortar costs, delivered, about £125, it appears that the great Baltic fleet, the mere maintenance of which, for the time it has been in the Baltic, has not cost less than £30,000 a day, has been brought to a standstill, reduced to utter impotence, and rendered a laughing-stock to the enemy, just for want of £2,500—about as much as a man of taste gives for three early Sèvres vases." All this was terrible bad management. It is known how long a mortar is serviceable almost to a few rounds of firing. Yet, in this case, our mortars were disabled in the bombardment of a single fortress; and our operations were brought to a standstill because there were no other



mortars to take their places. If the war had always been conducted in this manner, it might have lasted till the original cause of it was forgotten. It can scarcely be believed, yet such is the fact—while Admiral Dundas was sending home all his mortar-vessels, the Admiralty were loading the *Sanspareil* with mortars at Woolwich, and giving her orders to proceed with them to the Baltic. On learning that the mortar-boats were actually on their way home, the Admiralty had to send out a second steamer to stop them, and collect them somewhere in the Baltic, to receive their new mortars, in the faint hope that something might be done before the winter set in. It was, however, too late.

In another quarter of the world, the British name was more associated with glorious renown. Of the Circassian war, and the heroic Schamyl—of the contest carried on by the Turks with Russia, it is not within our province to speak. But, as Englishmen, we stop to chronicle the defence of Kars, conducted by Englishmen, of whom England had every reason to be proud. “The position of the army of Kars,” writes Dr. Sandwith, “was an innovation on all military science. The artillery was nearest to the enemy; the infantry close to the city; and the cavalry far away on the road to Erzeroum.” There was no organisation, properly speaking, though General Guyon, of Hungarian fame, was *chef-d’état-major*; and General Kmety, also another Hungarian refugee, had the command of the outposts. The army was never drilled; and its unsatisfactory state led to the appointment of Colonel Williams as British commissioner. Even then the colonel was regarded as a highly distinguished officer, and an able scientific engineer and diplomatist. Attended by Major Teesdale and Dr. Sandwith, he reached Kars in September, 1854.

Kars had a fortress, partly in ruins, but which, in time past, was considered one of the most formidable in Asia. The troops inside were in rags, and their pay was from fifteen to eighteen months in arrear. All the effective men it could muster, amounted to only 14,000.

Spring passed away, and summer came. The Russians had a new commander, General Mouravieff; and it was evident warlike operations would be commenced. Meanwhile, the besieged were employed, under General Lake, in throwing up fortifications around Kars, which gradually assumed the appearance of a fortified camp. Attack and defence were the order of the day. On one occasion, 800 Russians were slain by 400 Turks, defending a redoubt. The battle lasted seven hours; and the enemy finally retreated, with the loss of 2,500 killed, and nearly double that number wounded. As the Turkish cavalry had perished, and the Russians dared not meet the foe in the open field, it was resolved to reduce the garrison by blockade. A detail of the horrors suffered by the wretched soldiers and inhabitants of Kars, from this period until when, exhausted by starvation, they surrendered to an enemy whom they had so gloriously beaten, is appalling and hideous. The tortures of disease were added to the pangs of hunger. A terrible change came over the men: they were visibly emaciated; they tottered in their walk; their faces were gloomy and haggard, and their eyes bloodshot and wolfish. Grass was torn up in every open space where it could be found, and the roots greedily devoured. Cats were sold for one hundred piastres each, for the sake of food. A daring peasant who contrived to bring a load of onions into the town, found an immediate sale for them, at the rate of 12s. for two pounds and a-half: emaciated horses were killed, and greedily devoured. Outside the city swarms of vultures were to be seen preying on the mangled corpses, which the hungry dogs had scratched out of their shallow graves. All this was borne in the hope that the Russians might be compelled to retire, or that the garrison might be relieved by Selim Pasha, who had landed with a considerable army; or by Omer Pasha, whom they supposed to be advancing to their assistance. The endurance of these unhappy men was touching, and almost sublime. Dr. Sandwith says—“With hollow cheeks, tottering gait, and that peculiar feebleness of voice so characteristic of famine, they yet clung to their duties. I have again and again seen



them watching the batteries at midnight, some standing and leaning on their arms, but most coiled up under the breastwork, during cold as intense as an Arctic winter; scarce able to respond to or challenge the visiting officer; and in answer to a word of encouragement, the loyal words were ever on their lips—“*Padishah sagh Ossoon!*” (‘Long life to the Sultan!’). It would seem that the extremity of human suffering called forth latent sparks of a loyalty and devotion not observed in seasons of prosperity.”

At length General Williams had to renounce all hope. It was evident there was no quarter from which help was to come to these unfortunate men. On the 25th of November, Major Teesdale proceeded, under a flag of truce, to the Russian camp. Before doing so, the Hungarian officers, Kmety and Kollman, were informed of what was to be done. They accordingly made their escape through the enemy’s lines, and proceeded to Erzeroum, which they were fortunate to reach in safety. General Kmety’s case was a desperate one: he had been formally sentenced to death by the Austrian government, and had no mercy to expect at the hands of Russia. Rather than endure this fate, he declared he would blow his brains out. General Kollman, an officer who had held high rank in the Hungarian revolutionary army, was in the same predicament.

Williams, with his aide-de-camp, was received with great courtesy by the Russian general, Mouravieff. The English hero consented to surrender under certain conditions; adding, if they were not complied with, “every gun shall be burst, every standard burnt, and you may do your will upon a famished crowd.” The Russian general behaved with a generosity which did him real honour. He answered—“I have no wish to wreak an unworthy vengeance on a long-suffering and gallant army, which has covered itself with glory, and only yields to famine.” Then, pointing to a lump of bread and a handful of roots, he said—“Look here! What splendid troops must these be who can stand to their arms, in this severe climate, on such food as this! General Williams, you have made yourself a name in history; and posterity will stand amazed at the endurance, the courage, and the discipline which this siege has called forth in the remains of an army. Let us arrange a capitulation that will satisfy the demands of war without outraging humanity.” Subsequently, the whole garrison, including nine pashas, surrendered as prisoners of war; and thus ended the siege of Kars, the defence of which was one of the brightest and noblest incidents of the war. General Williams, on being restored to liberty, and returning to England, was rewarded with a baronetcy; a pension of £1,000 a year for life; the rank of K.C.B.; the Turkish order of Medjidiee; the honorary degree of D.C.L. by the University of Oxford; and the freedom of the city of London. He was, moreover, elected member of parliament for Calne, and appointed commandant at Woolwich. Subsequently he was sent out as governor of Nova Scotia, of which country he is a native. From 1840, when he obtained the rank of captain, to 1852, he was principally occupied with the settlement of peace and boundary questions between Turkey and Persia.

In 1856, a fierce debate was raised by Mr. Whiteside in the House of Commons. It lasted four nights, and was ably illustrated by the best oratory of the chiefs of parties in the House. In his reply, Lord Palmerston criticised the plans for the relief of Kars, proposed by the Turkish and English governments. The ministry disapproved of the former plan, and stated their reasons for that disapproval. “But,” added his lordship, “when we were told, in reply, that those reasons had been considered by the council of war in Constantinople, and the Turkish government adhered to their opinion, it was not for us to maintain the contrary. We had nothing more to say. Sebastopol was the great object of the campaign, and it had resisted us eleven months. If Sebastopol were taken, we might get back Kars, if it had fallen; but, if we failed to take Sebastopol, the calamity would be great, and the object of the campaign entirely lost. I think no man of reasonable views will maintain, that the governments of England and of France were not right in upholding the decision of their generals—that no



portion of the troops should be taken from Sebastopol until it had actually fallen before the attack of the allies." He concluded by saying—"Those who take the trouble to look at the conditions of peace, will find that we have foreseen all these matters, with respect to which provision could be included in a treaty; and that we have provided against any further danger to the Turkish empire, whose protection was the object of the war. Yet, at the very moment when, as I contend, the government have proved their energy in the prosecution of the war, and their foresight in the stipulations of peace—when the country is satisfied with the results of the war, and the peace that has been concluded—the honourable and learned gentleman steps in with a vote of censure—a vote, I undertake to say, not more at variance with the general feeling of the country, than, as the division to-night will show, it is at variance with the opinion of the House of Commons." After an amendment by Mr. Ker Seymour had been disposed of, the House divided on the original motion, when there appeared—ayes, 176; noes, 303. The majority was far greater than was anticipated. The House felt, and the public also, that the surrender of Kars to a beaten enemy was disgraceful; that Lord Stratford had acted with more than his wonted superciliousness; that ministers were negligent; but that the chief blame lay at the door of the timid, the vacillating, the corrupt pashas dominant at the Porte.

The history of the Crimean war is yet to be written. Neither French, nor English, nor Russian historian has yet achieved the task. According to Mr. Kinglake, the allies were sent into the Crimea solely in consequence of a despatch written by the Duke of Newcastle, and read to, and approved of, by his colleagues while suffering from the stupefying influences of a good dinner. The distinguished author observes—

"The Duke of Newcastle took the despatch to Richmond, for there was to be a meeting of the members of the cabinet at Pembroke Lodge; and he intended to make this the occasion for submitting the proposed instructions to the judgment of his colleagues. It was evening—a summer evening—and all the members of the cabinet were present, when the duke took out the draft of his proposed despatch, and began to read it. Then there occurred an incident, very trifling in itself, but yet so momentous in its consequences, that if it had happened in old times, it would have been attributed to the direct intervention of the gods. In these days, perhaps, the physiologist will speak of the condition into which the brain is brought when it rests after anxious labours; and the analytical chemist may regret that he had not an opportunity of testing the food of which the ministers had partaken, with the view to detect the presence of some narcotic poison: but no well-informed person will look upon the accident as characteristic of the men whom it befell: for the very faults, no less than the high qualities of the statesmen composing Lord Aberdeen's cabinet, were of such a kind as to secure them against the imputation of being careless and torpid. However, it is very certain, that before the reading of the paper had long continued, all the members of the cabinet, except a small minority, were overcome by sleep. For a moment the noise of a tumbling chair overturned the repose of government; but presently the Duke of Newcastle resumed the reading of his draft; and then, again, the fated sleep descended upon the eyelids of ministers. Later in the evening, and in another room, the Duke of Newcastle made another, and a last, effort to win attention to the contents of the draft; but again a blissful rest (not, this time, actual sleep) interposed between ministers and cares of state; and all, even those who, from the first, had remained awake, were in a quiet, assenting frame of mind. Upon the whole, the despatch, though it bristled with sentences tending to provoke objection, received from the cabinet the kind of approval which is often awarded to an unobjectionable sermon. Not a letter of it was altered."

In the same spirit, Mr. Kinglake implies, that at the battle of the Alma, what struck terror into the Russian forces, and forced them to retreat, was the apparition, on a knoll in the midst of their position, of "a gay-looking group of horse-



men, whose hats and white plumes showed that they were staff officers. What made the apparition more fatal was, that it was deep in the very heart of the Russian lines, and even somewhat near to the ground where Prince Mentschikoff had posted his reserves." The riders whose sudden appearance thus terrified the enemy, were nothing less than Lord Raglan and eighteen or twenty Englishmen. Todleben quite forgets to refer to this formidable incident as regards the fortunes of the day.

The French historian, Baron de Bazancourt, is equally romantic. He gives an animated account of an exciting contest which took place between the French and the Russians, near the telegraph. Now, as the Russians make no mention of this, and as, during the whole day, the French lost only three officers and sixty-six men, and as their total wounded amounted only to 600, we are inclined to agree with Mr. Kinglake, that, in the smoke, the French kept on firing at an imaginary enemy.

But space will not permit us to extend our criticisms. In this rapid sketch we have been compelled to omit much. We have not told how the Quakers went to St. Petersburg to see the czar, to ask him to be a man of peace, and came back charmed; how we sent a squadron into the White Sea, to damage the Russians there; how the French and English attacked Petropaulovski, a Russian station in the extreme north of Asiatic Russia, and were beaten off; and how the English admiral shot himself through the heart. We have but glanced at the main incidents in this great story. We have only to add, that all this while the international courtesies between France and England were of the most cordial character. The French emperor came to see the queen; the queen returned the visit. Medals—French, English, Sardinian—were given away wholesale; and when all was over, everybody, whether they deserved it or not, was covered with praise. After all, we had something to be thankful for: the *entente cordiale* was strengthened, and Russian ambition had received a check.

## CHAPTER VII.

### FALL OF THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY; PALMERSTON PREMIER.

THE Crimean war soon shattered the administration, to which it owed its birth. No sooner had the allies fairly entered on it, than people began to find fault—and not without reason—with the manner in which it was being conducted. There were, besides, unpleasantnesses at home. People could not understand why, in December, 1853, Lord Palmerston had temporarily retired from the administration. Rumours, subsequently proved to be utterly unfounded, tended to create much unpopularity for Prince Albert. Some of the Liberal journals, in the bitterness of their anger, went so far as to say that the prince obtruded his presence upon meetings of the queen with her ministers; that he interfered with their counsel to their sovereign; that, possessing the power of free communication with foreign Courts, he constituted an unlicensed channel for information between the confidential council of the queen and the cabinets of foreign potentates—potentates, perhaps, the enemies of England. Actually, in some quarters it was reported, and believed, that the prince was a traitor to his queen; that he had been impeached for high treason, and committed to the Tower.

During the session of 1854, it became evident there was a want of unity and strength in the cabinet. Lord John Russell was compelled to withdraw the Reform Bill which he had introduced, rather than run the risk of an anticipated defeat. His lordship became Lord President of the Council, in the place of Lord Gran-



ville, who succeeded Mr. Strutt as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The discharge of the duties of War Minister having been found incompatible with those of the Secretaryship of the Colonies, with which they had been hitherto combined, a fourth Secretaryship of State—that for war—was created, and conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle. The Colonial Secretaryship thus vacated was filled up by Sir George Grey.

As the winter drew near, and as news of official mismanagement reached us from the seat of war, the nation became angry and indignant; and justly so. They did not put faith in the apology of inexperience, made when any calamity overtook our men. It was felt that experience had not been wanting. It was argued that we are always at war in one or other of our colonies; that in India, at least, we had a fine training-ground for heads of departments; that there, there existed, in full force, all the difficulties and drawbacks—the shortness of supplies, and the obstructions inseparable from war on a hostile land. It was believed, that if there had been proper search, there would have been found no lack of men, with ample Indian experience, to direct our inexperienced commissaries and clerks; to manage our ambulance corps; and to see that our army never made a move without having at hand the means of subsistence and of transport. When cholera and famine came—when our wounded perished painfully in the hospitals, where they should have been carefully nursed, and speedily cured—when unskilful officers recklessly sacrificed, in battle or in attack, the soldiers over whose welfare a nation was longing to keep guard—no wonder that the storm came, and that, before it fell, a minister was never credited even for the little worth he possessed. In old times, men of high rank have been shot, or hung, or beheaded, and their memories handed down to eternal infamy, for deeds much less mischievous than were the blunders, and the oversights, and the mistakes of the Crimean war.

Parliament assembled unusually early after the recess. On the 12th of December the queen's speech was delivered. Senators were told that they were thus unwontedly summoned in order to take such measures as would enable her majesty to prosecute the great war in which they were engaged with the utmost vigour and effect. The first thing done was to carry a vote of thanks to the brave and suffering soldiers of the Crimea. The next was, to carry a Foreign Enlistment Bill, though not without considerable opposition. Mr. Bright's speech on the third reading of the bill was considered one of his best. He dwelt upon the degraded state of Turkey; and declared that, in supporting the Ottoman empire against Russia, we were fighting for a worthless ally and a hopeless cause. He denied the necessity of attacking Russia; denounced the war as based upon visionary and fantastic views; and described the government as "an incompetent ministry." The government also carried a Militia Bill, to enable her majesty to accept offers, made by whole regiments or portions of regiments of militia, for service *out* of the United Kingdom. It was brought in by Lord Palmerston. Government had been accused of entering on the war without a reserve. To that he answered, the reserve was the British nation. The object the government had in view by the bill was, not to send the militia regiments to the Crimea, but to send them to do garrison duty at Malta, Gibraltar, and Corfu, and therefore to set free the regiments there. Circumstances might also occur to induce her majesty to send them to the North American colonies; but such an arrangement was not then contemplated. The militia regiments had made such progress, that they would be as efficient in garrison as any regiment of the line. He desired that it should be distinctly understood, that no officer or man could possibly be sent out of the country without his own distinct and voluntary offer of service. On the 22nd, the House adjourned.

On the day following the adjournment, the *Times* began to startle and arouse the public, and thus to pave the way for the fall of the cabinet. It called upon Englishmen to rouse themselves from a sense of false security, and act in a way to relieve the state of the troops, and to improve the prospect of war. "What remains," it asked, "of more than 50,000 men—the best blood of this country—



which now represents, 3,000 miles from home, the glory, the influence, the courage, and the ability of our race? The England of history is now in the Crimea. We have defied the largest army in the world; and if we have not backed our challenge with quite sufficient strength or promptitude, we have, at last, made an effort beyond all former example. At this moment it would be rash to conjecture the fate of those hardy survivors of the 50,000. Do they still maintain the unequal fight—chilled, drenched, famished, utterly neglected? Has a slight aggravation of their many ills, a drop of the thermometer some degrees below zero, or a few more inches of rain, extinguished them altogether, or left scarce enough for a safe retreat? \* \* \* There is no use disguising this matter. We are not speaking from our own correspondence only. We say, on the evidence of every letter that has been received in this country, and we echo the opinion of almost every soldier or well-informed gentleman, when we say that the noblest army ever sent from these shores has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement. Incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic *hauteur*, official indifference, favour, routine, perverseness, and stupidity reign, revel, and riot in the camp before Sebastopol, in the harbour of Balaklava, in the hospitals of Scutari; and how much nearer home, we do not venture to say." As the *Times* forms public opinion—or did then—it was an augury that the people would soon call ministers to account.

Parliament met again, gloomy and despondent, on the 26th of January. In both Houses several notices of motions respecting the conduct of the war were given. Of these, the more important were—one by Lord Ellenborough, in the House of Lords; and another by Mr. Roebuck, in the House of Commons. On the very day on which these notices were to be discussed, the country was surprised by the formal announcement of Lord John Russell's resignation. This step, as we may suppose, subjected his lordship to the severest criticism. His conduct was considered a mean and cowardly desertion of his colleagues. It was generally felt that his behaviour would have been more honourable if he had taken his chance of falling with them, rather than desert them on the very eve of a great parliamentary discussion on their past conduct and policy. His lordship's explanation was, that during the recess, it had struck him there might be a better administration of the war department; and he proceeded to read a long correspondence on the subject between himself and Lord Aberdeen. He suggested, as early as the 17th of November, that before parliament met, the seals of that department should be placed in the hands of Lord Palmerston; assigning his reasons confidentially to Lord Aberdeen, without throwing any blame upon the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen did not concur in this proposal; and his (Lord John's) only doubt was, whether he should not then have relinquished office; but he had adopted the advice of Lord Palmerston, and determined to continue his connection with the government, having communicated to Lord Aberdeen his views as to the changes in the war department, which he deemed indispensable to remedy its imperfections. In dealing with the motion of Mr. Roebuck, he was, however, bound to reflect, whether he could fairly and honestly say—"It is true, evils do exist; but such arrangements have been made that all deficiencies and abuses will be immediately remedied." And he could not honestly, or without betraying the confidence reposed in him, make that statement. He considered, therefore, that as he was unable to give the only answer that would stop inquiry, it was his duty not to remain a member of the government.

No sooner had his lordship concluded his explanation than Mr. Roebuck brought forward his motion. Feeble, and suffering from ill-health, he was unable to proceed with his address: but there was no need that he should. He had said enough when he had asked what had become of the 40,000 men who have disappeared from the ranks of the army? The debate, thus initiated, was a lengthy one. Mr. Stafford, who had been to the Crimea, testified to the misery which he saw everywhere around him. Sir Bulwer Lytton, Mr. Disraeli, and others, were all eager in their accusation of government, which was defended by Mr. Herbert,



Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Palmerston. The latter said, that on one point he fully concurred with Mr. Disraeli, that the responsibility did not fall upon the Duke of Newcastle alone, but upon the whole cabinet. Ministers were resolved, on that ground, to abide by the decision of the House. Much had been said about a coalition; but, in the existing state of parties, no government could be formed strong enough to carry on its affairs that was not formed upon the principle of coalition. He would not deny that there had been something calamitous in the condition of our army; but he traced it to the inexperience derived from a long peace, and the state of the military departments. The course pursued with respect to the appointment of a committee would be dangerous and inconvenient in its results abroad. He trusted that the discussion would be confined to the overthrow of the existing government; and that, when the House had determined what set of men should be entrusted with public affairs, they would give their support to that government, and not show to Europe that a nation could only meet a great crisis when it was deprived of representative institutions.

After some words by Messrs. Muntz and Horsman, Mr. T. Duncombe asked the proposer of the motion if he was in earnest, and really intended to nominate the committee in the event of his motion being carried. Mr. Roebuck said he certainly intended to carry out the inquiry, and had heard nothing in the debate which had led him to change his mind. The ministers had failed: they had acted under one continued paralysis. They could not do worse. The resolution, if adopted, would not carry into a single department greater incapacity and inaptitude than had already been exhibited. Their confidence, then, was in that House; and would that House abdicate its functions? Inquiry was requisite then, if ever. Inquire then, and save the army which was in jeopardy. Mr. Roebuck, in consequence of his feeble state, spoke with great difficulty, and was once compelled to stop in his brief reply. The House then divided, and the result was—for the commission of inquiry, 305; against it, 148: thus giving, against the ministry, the enormous majority of 157—an announcement received by the House with astonishment. Never, in so short a space of time, had a cabinet, apparently so strong, succeeded so effectually in drawing down upon itself the censure of parliament and people alike.

Before leaving this part of our subject, it may be well to state that, in time, the public came to see, that on the shoulders of the Duke of Newcastle especially, in consequence of the attack made upon him by Lord John Russell, there had fallen more than a fair share of the blame. Mr. Kinglake says—"The Duke of Newcastle was a man of a sanguine, eager nature, very prone to action. He had a good clear intellect, with more of strength than keenness; unwearied industry, and an astonishing facility of writing. In the assumption of responsibility he was bold and generous, even to rashness. Indeed, he was so eager to see his views carried into effect, and so willing to take all the risk upon his own head, that there was danger of his withdrawing from other men their wholesome share of discretion. He threw his whole heart into the projects of invasion; and if the Prime Minister and Mr. Gladstone were driven forward by the feeling of the country, in spite of their opinions and scruples, it was not so with the Duke of Newcastle. The character of his mind was such as to make him essentially one with the public. Far from being propelled by others against his will, he himself was one of the very foremost members of the warlike throng which was pressing upon the cabinet, and craving for adventure and glory. He easily received new impressions, and, nevertheless, a quick good sense, which generally enabled him to distinguish what was useful from what was worthless. He seemed to understand the great truth that, without being military, the English are a warlike people. He also knew, that when England undertakes war against a great European power, she must engage the energies of the people at large, and must not presume to rely altogether upon the merely professional exertions of her small peace establishments. It was not from his faults, but in spite of his endeavours, that, for several months, people



lingered in the notion that our military system was an apparatus sufficing for war. But the duke had not an authority proportioned to the merits which a reader of his despatches and letters would be inclined to attribute to him. Perhaps the very zeal with which he seized and adapted his ideas of the outer public, was one of the causes which tended to lessen his weight; for he who comes into council with common and popular views, however likely it may be that he will get them assented to, can scarcely hope to kindle men's minds with the fire that springs from a man's own thought, and from his own strong will. Moreover, it was by a kind of chance, rather than of intentional selection, that the Duke of Newcastle had been entrusted with the momentous business of the war; and, seemingly, it was only from this circumstance that the propriety of his continuing to hold the office was afterwards brought into question by one of his principal colleagues. They did not perversely thwart him in the business of the war; but, on the other hand, they did not at all fasten themselves to his measures like men who would stand or fall with him. The Duke of Newcastle had not the gift of knowing how to surround himself with able assistants; and it was his misfortune to be without that precious aid which a minister commonly finds in the permanent staff of his office. At the outbreak of hostilities, the little body of distinct public offices, on which the military administration depended, was in a condition unfit to meet the exigencies of war. The first army surgeon who applied for certain of the medical stores, required on foreign service, was met with no less than five official theories as to the functionary upon whom the demand should be made; and when, in the month of June, the scattered departments connected with the land service were gathered at last into one, the office thus newly formed was, after all, so ill instituted as to be wanting in some of the simplest appliances required for the transaction of business." Thus much for a man who was made the scapegoat, and abused far beyond his deserts."

Ministers having resigned, it was no easy thing, in a time of such difficulty, to find successors. The queen sent for Lord John Russell: he accepted her commands to form an administration; but he found insurmountable obstacles in the way. Lord Derby had previously declined the attempt altogether. The country was in a dilemma. At such a time, to be without a government was a serious matter. The queen consulted again the Marquis of Lansdowne (it seems she acted under his advice all the way through); and his answer was—send for Lord Palmerston. His lordship was sent for, and accepted office. A ministry was formed out of the materials of the old, with this exception—his lordship had lost the services of the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord John Russell, and the Duke of Newcastle; and gained, as Minister at War, Lord Panmure.

Lord Panmure came of that northern race known, all the world over, according to Mr. Kinglake, for the light crisp hair, and the clear grey eye, known especially in the men of the south, for their full understanding of the art of taking care of themselves and their relations. In his lordship's case this natural tendency was remarkably illustrated. One day, in the crisis of the war, the commander of her majesty's forces in the Crimea, was alarmed by the receipt of a telegram from the War Office, requesting him to "take care of Dowb." Who or what was Dowb? Did it denote some Crimean fort, or a living specimen of flesh and blood? The question was deeply, anxiously discussed. Back to the War Office telegraphed the bewildered Simpson; when the answer came, that Dowb was a contraction for Dowbiggin, a relative of my Lord Panmure. The career of this nobleman (now the Earl of Dalhousie) had not been an unsuccessful one. He was born in 1801, at Brechin Castle, Scotland; educated at the Charter-house; and, as Mr. Fox Maule, entered the army as an ensign in the 79th Highlanders; served for several years on the staff of his uncle, and retired with the rank of captain. He commenced his political career in Forfarshire, in 1835, when he contested the county in the Whig interest, and was returned by a triumphant majority. On the formation of the Melbourne administration, he became Under-Secretary for the Home Department; and, although ejected from the representation of Perthshire in 1837, he retained



his office, and was, in 1838, restored to the House of Commons as member for the Elgin boroughs. Elected a second time, in 1841, as member for Perth, he figured for a brief period as Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and, on the restoration of the Whigs to power in 1846, became a cabinet minister and Secretary at War. In that post he continued till 1852, when the expiration of the East India Company's charter rendering it necessary to have a minister of influence to direct the affairs of India, he was promoted to the Presidency of the Board of Control. The dissolution, however, of the Russell cabinet prevented Mr. Fox Maule trying his powers as an Indian reformer; and, having succeeded his father in the peerage, soon after took his place in the House of Lords. He had the wisdom not to take office in the coalition cabinet; but accepted, under Lord Palmerston, the difficult post of Secretary at War. The Premier paid his colleague a high compliment when he spoke of him as a perfect master of all the principles which regulate an army, and of all the details. Another appointment, made at this time, created no little remark. Lord John Russell was to serve under Lord Palmerston, as British plenipotentiary in the peace conference about to open at Vienna.

To a crowded and attentive audience, on February 16th, Lord Palmerston rose to make his first statement as head of the government of the country. It was a proud moment for him. He had attained the object of his ambition; he had won the prize in the political arena. He was now openly acknowledged to the world as the first statesman of his day. Apparently, his elevation made no difference to him. He was still the Palmerston of old—flippant, unpretending, avoiding all rhetorical flourishes; in seeming all things to all men; in reality, unbending and subtle as ever. Having referred to the circumstances connected with the downfall of the Aberdeen administration, his lordship continued—"The present government was then formed; and I trust it contains sufficient administrative ability, sufficient political sagacity, sufficient liberal principle, and sufficient patriotism and determination, to omit no effort to fulfil the duties the members have undertaken, and to justify me in appealing to the House and to the country for such support as men may be considered entitled to receive, who, in a period of great difficulty and emergency, have undertaken the responsibility of carrying on the government.

"With regard to Mr. Roebuck's motion," said his lordship, "I will not attempt to conceal that I feel the same objection to the appointment of a committee, of which he has given notice, as I did when the subject was first under discussion. My opinion is, that such a committee would, in its action, not be in accordance with the true and just principles of the constitution; and that it would not be, for the effectual accomplishment of its purpose, a sufficient instrument. He trusted that the House would at least assent to suspend its decision. The reason he would ask it so to do, would be his belief that the government would of itself do all that was possible to be done. As an English king rode up to an insurrection, and offered to be its leader, so the government offered the House of Commons to be its committee. The object of those who voted for the committee, was to compel the government to such administrative improvements as would restore vigour to the service. The House was aware," continued his lordship, "that he had not felt it to be his duty to recommend her majesty to appoint a Secretary at War; and his opinion was, that in regard to the ordnance, great improvements might be effected, and that the discipline of the artillery and the engineers might be transferred to the Commander-in-Chief. The transport service would be under the superintendence of a Board, to be established for that purpose. Fresh alarm, and well-founded complaints, had prevailed as to the condition of the sick and wounded in the hospitals; and the government were going to send out a commission of civilians, accustomed to deal with sanitary questions, with ample power to examine into the state of hospitals, camps, and ships. Lord Raglan had also been authorised to send to Constantinople for a corps of labourers, whose duty it would be to cleanse the camp. Many complaints had been made—he believed not without foundation—of the want of system in the commissariat department, as regarded the supply and issue of the



necessaries for the army; and a commission was going to be sent out, at the head of which was Sir J. McNeil, to examine the defects of the commissariat department, and with full power to put it right. Major-General Simpson was likewise proceeding to the Crimea, as chief of the staff, to take the control of the quarter-master-general's and adjutant-general's departments, with power to recommend to Lord Raglan any change of persons. A new hospital was to be established at Smyrna, entirely under the management of civilians; and the Secretary of War was going completely to remodel the medical department at home. He would also introduce into the other House, a bill to enable her majesty to enlist for soldiers under the present limit, and for a shorter time. The commissariat abroad, he had omitted to state, had been charged, not merely with the supply and issue of provisions, and other necessities, but also with the means of transporting them. This had been a source of great difficulty. And there would be a separate department of land transport, akin to the ancient waggon-train. He trusted that the House would be disposed to see the effects which these improved arrangements would make. In addition to them, no efforts would be spared to reinforce our army. Certain conditions as to negotiations for peace had been opened at Vienna. The government had proposed that Lord John Russell should conduct them on the part of this country; and he had consented. If," said Lord Palmerston, in conclusion, "we succeed in obtaining peace on terms which afford security, for the future, against those disturbances of the peace of Europe which have led to the war, we shall feel that our first desire in undertaking the government at this moment, has been accomplished in a manner as satisfactory to the country as ourselves. But if, on the other hand, we fail, then the country will feel that we have no alternative but to go on with the war; and I am convinced that the country will, with greater zeal than ever, give its support to a government which, having made every possible attempt to obtain peace, and having failed in doing so, has been compelled to carry on the war for the purpose of obtaining those results which the sense and the judgment of this country have approved. We shall then throw ourselves upon the generous support of parliament and the country; and that generous support, I am confident, we shall not ask in vain. I feel sure that, in such a state of things, all minor differences, all mere party shades of distinction will vanish; and that men of all sides will feel that they might support the government of this country, and show the world the noble and glorious spectacle, that a free people and a constitutional government can exhibit a life, a spirit, and an energy, a power of endurance and a vigour of action, that would be vainly sought for under a despotic rule and arbitrary sway."

This programme of action found little favour either with the House or the country at large. It was clear the Premier was more anxious to patch up the wounds and imperfections which the late disasters had revealed in our execrable military system, than to cure and eradicate them. Mr. Layard, fresh from the Crimea, sharply criticised Lord Palmerston's propositions. "The country," he exclaimed, "is sick of these commissions. The country wants a man. Don't let me be told that you cannot get a man: that is an insult to the common sense of the country. If your man, however, must be seventy years old, a member of Brooks', and one who has always voted with the government, I grant that you may not find one of that class and stamp fitted for the duties which are required of him."

Lord Palmerston had succeeded in forming a cabinet, but not a very united one. By the 22nd of February, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert had resigned their respective offices. Their motive for abandoning the ministry was said to be, by themselves, in their places in parliament, the strong objection they had to the proposed inquiry, by a select committee of the House of Commons, into the state of the army, and the causes of the disasters in the Crimea. A year or two later, on occasion of being reproached by a political opponent with having deserted the ministry in an hour of peril, Mr. Gladstone replied—"I never



left the government of my own free-will. I left the government of 1855 because I was obliged to leave it—because Lord Palmerston had changed his mind on a matter of important public policy. In January, 1855, there was a proposal for a committee to inquire into the state of the army before Sebastopol. The government, of which Lord Palmerston was a member, believed that the committee could not lead to any satisfactory result. Lord Palmerston was so strongly of that opinion, that we all resigned our offices in January, 1855, rather than consent to that committee. Three weeks after, the subject of the committee was resumed. I continued of the same opinion. Lord Palmerston changed his, and consented to the committee; and, as I continued unchanged, he would not permit me to remain, and I was compelled to quit office. I defy any man to contradict what I now state. I do not like to trouble the meeting thus; but, as you have chosen to open the subject, I must continue it a few moments longer. The Sebastopol committee was appointed: the Sebastopol committee reported a most severe censure upon the whole of the government of Lord Aberdeen, to which Lord Palmerston and I belonged. The report of the committee was presented to the House of Commons. Mr. Roebuck proposed a resolution on it. There was a division in the House. Lord Palmerston voted to give the go-by to that committee by, in parliamentary language, moving the previous question. I voted for a consideration of the report, for I wanted to have the judgment of parliament upon the question. Lord Palmerston stopped the judgment of parliament at that time: but he afterwards sent a commission to the Crimea. The commission came home, and made a report: that report received the approval of the country; but I need not tell you, for you all know, how the commissioners, Sir John McNeil and Colonel Tulloch, were treated by Lord Palmerston." Lord Palmerston soon filled up the vacant offices. The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was offered to Mr. Cardwell, who not only refused it, but resigned, that he might side with his fellow Peelites. The office was subsequently accepted by Sir George Cornewall Lewis, a man of rare industry and vast accomplishments, and who fell a victim to his laborious zeal.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis, born in 1806, was educated at Eton, and at Christchurch, Oxford, where, in 1828, he was first class in classics, and second in mathematics. Having been called to the bar in 1831, he was appointed to serve on the commission of inquiry into the relief of the poor, and into the state of the church in Ireland, in 1835; and on the commission of inquiry into the affairs of Malta, in 1836. In 1839, he became a poor-law commissioner. In 1847, he entered parliament as M.P. for Hertfordshire, and was, first, Secretary to the Board of Control; subsequently, Under-Secretary for the Home Department; and then one of the secretaries to the Treasury. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Hertfordshire at the general election in 1852, and at Peterborough soon afterwards; but, upon the death of his father, in 1855, he succeeded him in the representation of the Radnor boroughs. As a literary man, his reputation stood deservedly high. At one time he was the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. His works are many, and on subjects chiefly historical or political; such as—*The Romance Language*; *The Use and Abuse of Political Terms*; *Local Disturbances*, and the *Irish Church Question*; *On the Government of Dependencies*; *On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion*; *On Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*; *On the Credibility of Early Roman History*, &c. As a debater, originally Sir Cornewall Lewis had not much weight in the House. His style of speaking was heavy, and destitute of life; but he had very much improved by practice; and his loss was felt and lamented by men of all parties in the state.

One appointment, at this time, created considerable astonishment. Lord John Russell joined the ministry as Colonial Secretary, he being already plenipotentiary to the congress of Vienna. It was urged, in objection, that either of these positions was sufficient to engross the complete attention of one man: but



Lord Palmerston said, that Sir George Grey, who had hitherto held the Colonial Office, should look to it during Lord John's absence. Sir George assumed the post of Home Secretary, abandoned by Mr. Sidney Herbert; Mr. Vernon Smith accepted the office of President of the Board of Control, vacated by Sir Charles Wood, who took the post of First Lord of the Admiralty.

On the evening when the retiring ministers gave their reasons for leaving the administration, the committee for a public inquiry into the state of affairs in the Crimea was appointed. The list of names first proposed by Mr. Roebuck to constitute that committee was abandoned; and Mr. Roebuck, in conjunction with Lord Palmerston, prepared one better entitled to the confidence of the House. Mr. Roebuck subsequently proposed that the inquiry into the state of the army should be a secret one. He urged, that if it was not conducted in secret, it would not be both searching and safe, when our alliance with France was considered. Considerable discussion ensued; and as the opinion of the House was mainly in favour of an open inquiry, Mr. Roebuck withdrew his motion with regard to secrecy. The committee appointed consisted of—Mr. Roebuck, Chairman; Mr. J. Ball, Mr. Branstons, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Ellice, Mr. Layard, Colonel Lindsay, Sir J. Pakington, General Peel, Lord Seymour, and Sir J. Hanmer. The committee met for the first time on the 5th of March. Its proceedings extended to the 15th of May; and, on the 18th of June, Mr. Roebuck presented the report, drawn up by it, to the House of Commons.

Meanwhile, the war, and everything connected with it, was fiercely debated in the House of Commons, rather, it is to be feared, with a view to upsetting the ministry, than with regard to public interests. The principal debate, however, commenced in May. Mr. Disraeli called upon the House to express its dissatisfaction with the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of the government. To this notice Sir Francis Baring added an amendment—"That this House having seen, with regret, that the conferences of Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities, feels it to be a duty to declare, that it will continue to give every support to her majesty in the prosecution of the war, until her majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace." Lord Palmerston closed the debate in an animated speech. He appealed to the common patriotic feeling of members, in support of the crown and government, to carry through a struggle necessary for the honour and interest of the country. He asserted that the peace-at-any-price party were the only members who had introduced bitterness and passion into an important and gravely-conducted debate. He said, that Sir F. Baring having framed, upon the basis of Mr. Disraeli's resolution, almost exactly such a one as government would have taken the initiative in proposing, he foresaw that a large majority would rally to vote for that resolution, as a means of enabling the government to give effect to the wishes of the nation and the parliament in carrying out the object of the war. That object was to prevent the partition of Turkey by a gigantic power, which would stride like a Colossus from the Baltic to the Mediterranean: and, in so doing, not only protect the sultan, but that very trade of Manchester, and our manufacturing districts, which Russia prohibited, and Turkey enlarged. "I trust," said his lordship in conclusion, "that party feeling will, for one night, be set aside; that we shall, at least for one night, and for one occasion, be unanimous in our assurances to the crown that we are determined, as the true representatives of the people of this great country, to give to her majesty the best support we can in the prosecution of the war, to the attainment of a safe and honourable peace." After an amendment by Mr. Lowe had been put, and negatived without a division, Sir F. Baring's motion was carried without further opposition.

Out-of-doors there was less of unanimity. Even when—as at this time was the case—the queen ordered her faithful people to humble themselves before God, on account of the disasters in the Crimea, and the church decreed, accordingly, appropriate services, there were those—by no means a minority—who considered, perhaps



profanely, that the fasting and humbling should have been confined to the higher officers of state; and that the whole thing was a political juggle, to divert the attention of the public. It was a grand achievement in those who had sent our army to die—and for whose death they were responsible—to get the public to believe that it was God's anger, rather than their neglect, which had swept away to Hades so many thousands of our best and bravest sons, and had filled the land with mourning, and lamentation, and woe. Nor even did the miserable trick succeed. Of course the churches were opened; and many—mostly inferior—discourses were delivered; and much was said in the pulpit, that, to the sober ear of reason, sounded as something very like blasphemy. But still, so immense was the dissatisfaction of the nation at the conduct of the war, and the state of the public departments, that an agitation arose, the rallying-cry of which was, "Administrative Reform." An association was formed by certain members of the middle classes, chiefly merchants and traders of the metropolis, for the purpose of promoting a thorough reform in the various departments of the state. Its first meeting was held on the 5th of May, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, and attended by as many as 1,500 persons. At that time, limited liability companies had not made merchants, and tradesmen, and manufacturers perceive that they were just as liable to be imposed on as any other class of men. Nevertheless, the association never made much way, though Mr. Samuel Morley, a great man in city and dissenting circles, took the chair.

On the 15th of June, Mr. Layard brought forward some resolutions on the subject in the House of Commons; and, in a speech extending over three hours, took up, one by one, the great heads of the subject. He spoke of the government as a close monopoly of a few families; of the army, where promotion went by purchase and favouritism, instead of by merit. He severely criticised the diplomatic and civil services—recommending a competitive examination for admission. He then moved, "That this House views, with deep and increasing concern, the state of the nation; and is of opinion, that the manner in which merit and efficiency in public appointments have been sacrificed to party and family influences, and a blind adherence to routine, has given rise to great misfortunes, and threatens to bring discredit upon the national character, and to involve the country in grave disasters." In the debate which followed, Mr. Gladstone characterised the resolution as vague, pledging the House to nothing, and offering no useful object to the people. Sir Bulwer Lytton moved, as an amendment—"That the House recommends to the earliest attention of her majesty's ministers, the necessity of a careful revision of our various official establishments, with a view to simplify and facilitate the transaction of public business; and by instituting judicious tests of merit, as well as by removing obstructions to its fair promotion and legitimate rewards, to secure to the service of the state the largest available proportion of the energy and intelligence for which the people of this country are distinguished." Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, on behalf of the government, disclaimed a blind adherence to routine, though not to system, without which no service or law could go on. If, he said, Mr. Layard's resolution were carried, ministers would regard it as a vote of want of confidence, and retire; but that, construing Sir E. B. Lytton's amendment by the simple meaning of its words, he should have no difficulty in accepting it. The tone of the House was adverse to Mr. Layard's motion. At the adjourned debate, Mr. Disraeli said that administrative reform was imperatively required; but that he could not agree with Mr. Layard, that our late disasters were attributable to routine, but rather to an incapable government, unconnected by the mutual sympathy and private regard necessary to the success of the cabinet. He fully coincided with the amendment of Sir E. B. Lytton, which expressed the policy Lord Derby's party were prepared to recommend. Lord Palmerston referred to a recent speech of Mr. Layard, at a public meeting in Drury Lane Theatre, where he had been charged with jesting at the sufferings of the people—a charge he denied indignantly. He defended the composition of the government; no



member of which, he said, was related to him by any family ties. He promised the earnest attention of his government to administrative reform; saying, that it could have no possible inducement to follow any other course; detailed what had already been done, and dilated on the inquiry, time, and consideration necessary before all could be done that was required. He accepted the resolution of Sir E. B. Lytton, as a pledge that the government would direct its most serious attention to a continued revision of the civil offices of the state. After a brief reply from Mr. Layard, his resolutions were rejected by 359 to 46. Subsequently, Sir E. B. Lytton's resolution was adopted without any discussion. Lord Palmerston always stood out till the last; and then, like a wise man, gave way.

On the 18th of June, Mr. Roebuck presented the report of the committee on Crimean affairs (of which he was chairman) to the House of Commons, and it was read to the members by Sir Denis Le Marchant. The report was a lengthy one; and after referring to the complicated nature of the inquiry, laid down the opinions the committee had arrived at—first, as to the condition of the army before Sebastopol; and, secondly, on the conduct of the departments, both at home and abroad, whose duty it was to minister to the wants of the army. Granting that much suffering was necessarily unavoidable, the committee expressed their opinion that it was mainly attributable to dilatory and insufficient arrangements for the supply of the army with necessaries indispensable to its healthy and effective condition. The imperativeness, or otherwise, of the fatal amount of over-work to which the troops were subjected, the committee regarded as a matter beyond the limit of their inquiry.

The second division of the subject was treated at greater length, and under no less than seventeen headings. The first of these related to the conduct of the government at home, upon which the responsibility of the expedition to the Crimea rested. It pointed out, that the government gave orders for the expedition without having obtained the requisite information concerning the harbours, roads, and water-supply of the Crimea; or, what was most important, a statement of the force by which it was defended. They also regretted the delay in the formation of an army of reserve. The report gave the Duke of Newcastle credit for the best intentions, and even put forward some apologies for the difficulties of his position; but it left the reader to infer that he was unequal to the duties of his office. It was also intimated that Mr. Sidney Herbert's influence was not equal to his activity.

The ordnance department was described as working improperly, on account of the absence of Lord Raglan, the master-general, whose duties were imperfectly performed by a substitute. The supply of inferior tools, the report ascribes to carelessness or dishonesty on the part of the persons responsible for it. The committee were unable to decide whether the sufferings occasioned to the soldiers by the deficiency in the transport departments, were due to the "office of the Commander-in-Chief, or of the Secretary at War, or of the Secretary of State for War." In the same way, no one seems to have been responsible for the management of the transport service in the Black Sea. Sir James Graham declared that Admiral Dundas was: the admiral declared that the parties to blame were Lord Raglan, Rear-Admiral Boxer, and Captain Christie.

The report observed of the commissariat, that the soldiers were badly supplied with food, and that the explanation given was unsatisfactory. The circumstance of giving green coffee to the men was dwelt on. "The more immediate comfort of the men was overlooked, while ingenious arguments on the volatile aroma of the berry, and of the Turkish mode of packing coffee, were passing backward and forward." The horses were as badly treated as their masters. After the hurricane, the supply of forage ceased. There was great blame somewhere; but the committee could not say where.

With respect to the medical department at home, Dr. Smith, the director-general, said that he was under the immediate authority of five different superiors—the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary of State for War, the Secretary at War, the



Master-general of the Ordnance, and the Board of Ordnance; under which circumstances, it excites no surprise to find that he did not understand, or properly discharge, the duties attached to his office. In this department, as in many others, inexperience proved an obstacle to its efficiency in war. Dr. Smith was animated by a desire to discharge his duty; but, in many points, he suggested and remonstrated in vain. The report observes—"The strict economy enforced during a long period of peace, by means of a rigid system of audit and account, may, doubtless, at the first outbreak of war, have still fettered Dr. Smith, as well as other public servants, who dreaded to incur responsibility for any expenditure, however urgent, which was not guarded by all the forms and documents usually required. An excess of caution in the first instance, led, probably, to some evils which a lavish outlay could not afterwards repair." The committee referred mournfully to the medical department in the East; and declared it to be so wretched and painful a subject, that they gladly avoided repeating its harrowing details. They observed—"The medical men, it is said, were indefatigable in their attention; but so great was the want of the commonest necessities, even of bedding, as well as of medicines and medical comforts, that they sorrowfully admitted their services to be of little avail."

Of the hospitals at Scutari the committee report in terms of sorrow and surprise. Of these hospitals Major Sillery was military commandant; while Dr. Menzies, with Dr. McGregor under his orders, were medical superintendents. Major Sillery was totally incompetent to the discharge of his official duties, and ridiculously timid of incurring any responsibility. Dr. Menzies seems to have been impressed with old-fashioned notions of routine; and to have been, moreover, somewhat deficient in natural kindness to the host of sufferers under his charge. The committee censured him for not correctly reporting the circumstances of the hospital, and stating that he wanted nothing in the shape of stores or medical comforts, at the time when his patients were destitute of the commonest necessities. They modified this censure by adding—"In justice to Dr. Menzies, it must be admitted that he was engaged in incessant and onerous duties. He was consulted in all difficult surgical cases; he performed the most serious operations himself. His time was occupied in invaliding men, holding Boards, making monthly and quarterly returns, daily reports and weekly reports—reports to Dr. Smith, who could not interfere; reports to the Duke of Newcastle, who was never informed of the real state of things. Amid all these labours he had no time left for that which would have been his principal duty—the proper superintendence of these hospitals. Dr. Menzies states, that he was overwhelmed by the work of three deputy inspectors, when he gave up his charge—his health being then broken down. This statement is confirmed by Dr. Dumbreck, who, having heard Dr. Menzies' evidence, says—"The clashing of responsibility and confusion that existed in the administration of the hospitals, was not creditable to our system. We seemed to have fallen into a state of inaction; we had no purveyors, no orderlies, no hospital corps. Dr. Menzies I believe to have been clearly over-worked, and put in a position that no man was able to cope with."

As regards this point, the committee state themselves to be totally at a loss to understand the report of Dr. Hall, which they consider to have misled both Lord Raglan and the government at home; and to have occasioned much delay in measures, taken afterwards, for the remedy of evils which might have been arrested earlier in their progress. The committee referred to the selection of an improper person as purveyor, and to the retaining him in office after he had been pronounced unfit to discharge its duties. They severely condemned the state of the apothecary department at Scutari, of which no account whatever seems to have been kept: at any rate, no entry was made in the books by the officer in charge of that department, from the 24th of September to the 28th of November. "Your committee," continues the report, "are not aware under what instructions he was acting; but the late Secretary at War admits that such conduct was a gross dereliction."



tion of duty. It is, moreover, manifest that the government had been deceived with regard to these hospital stores, since Mr. S. Herbert had stated, in the House of Commons, there had been all manner of forms to be gone through before these stores could be issued. With plenty of materials, the forms were so cumbrous that they could never be produced with the rapidity necessary for the purposes of a military hospital. It is now proved, that if there were cumbrous forms inconveniencing the service of the hospital, and aggravating the sufferings of the patients, there were, at least, no forms to protect the public purse against negligence or peculation. The distress in these hospitals would have been more severe, and the suffering more acute, if private charity had not stepped in to redress the evils of official mismanagement. Assistance, which had been discouraged as superfluous, was eventually found to be essential for the lives of the patients. When the quantities of hospital stores which were sent from England are contrasted with the scarcity, or rather the absolute dearth of them at Scutari, and when the state of the purveyor's accounts is remembered, it is impossible not to harbour a suspicion that some dishonesty has been practised with regard to these stores." In conclusion, the committee remarked, "that the first real improvements in the hospital at Scutari are to be attributed to private suggestions, private exertions, and private benevolence. A fund, raised by public subscriptions, was administered by the proprietors of the *Times*, through Mr. Macdonald, an intelligent and zealous agent. At the suggestion of the Secretary at War, Miss Nightingale, with admirable devotion, organised a band of nurses, and undertook the care of the sick and wounded. The Hon. Jocelyn Percy, the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, and Mr. Augustus Stafford, after a personal inspection of the hospitals, furnished valuable reports and suggestions to the government. By these means much suffering was alleviated; the spirits of the men were raised, and many lives were saved. Your committee have now adverted to the chief points contained in the replies to above TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND QUESTIONS; and, in noticing these various subjects, they have divided them under distinct heads, in order fairly to apportion the responsibility. Your committee report that the sufferings of the army mainly resulted from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful; and, as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign. The patience and fortitude of this army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation, on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience under sufferings and privations, have given them claims upon the country, which will, doubtless, be gratefully acknowledged. Your committee will now close their report with a hope that every British army may, in future, display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none hereafter may be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages."

But we must return to parliament, where again Lord John Russell manages to create difficulty and embarrassment. On his return from the Vienna conference, it was generally reported that he had there agreed to the Austrian proposals for peace; and, consequently, that there existed in a cabinet wholly responsible for the war, a minister of great importance, who thought it neither just nor necessary. M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who is said to have shared in the same views, resigned his office on finding that he had not the concurrence of government. Not so Lord John Russell: with peace in his heart, he had war on his lips; and acted with a ministry who were always pledging themselves to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. In parliament, in the attempt to catechise him, his lordship gave uncertain and evasive replies. At length, Count Buol, in a circular addressed to the diplomatic agents of Austria, observed, in reference to the peaceable view of



the cabinet, that "the ministers of France and England, in a confidential interview, showed themselves decidedly inclined towards our proposal." Under these circumstances, Mr. Milner Gibson, July 6th, requested Lord John Russell to explain his conduct; and how it was, if the facts were as reported, he retained his place in a government pledged to cripple Russia when those proposals were rejected. His lordship stated that he concurred in the Austrian proposals, which, he thought, would give a very fair prospect of the duration of peace. He told Count Buol that his instructions from London led him to believe that the Austrian proposals would not be accepted; but that his own opinion was, that they ought to be, and might be, accepted: and he promised that he would do his best to put them in such a light that the Austrian government might hope for their adoption. On his return from Vienna these proposals were deliberately considered by the cabinet, which came to the conclusion that the peace proposed would not be a safe one, and that they could not recommend its adoption. Mr. Gibson asked why he could continue in the government which rejected his counsel? But, as a plenipotentiary, it was for him to submit to the decision of his government. As a member of the cabinet, it was his duty to consider the circumstances of the time—the failure of himself and Lord Derby to form a government that promised stability—the attacks to which Lord Palmerston himself was exposed for no other reason than that he held a place of authority. Now though, out of office, he might have given every support to his noble friend, he felt that his resignation would have decreased the stability of the administration, and have been considered the symptom and precursor of other changes. Within the cabinet it was the duty of the minority to yield to the majority, and to leave it to the House of Commons to decide whether or not they were to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs. This speech of his lordship's made matters worse. Mr. Cobden, in a powerful harangue, declared, that by such a surrender of his judgment, Lord John Russell struck at the confidence of public men. Mr. Roebuck considered Lord John's conduct to be inconsistent with the perfect honesty of a public man. Mr. Disraeli was equally severe; and Lord Palmerston defended his colleague in vain.

Nor was the matter allowed to stop here. On the 10th of July, Sir E. B. Lytton gave notice of the following vote of censure—"That the conduct of the minister in the recent negotiations at Vienna, and his continuance in office as a responsible adviser of the crown, have, in the opinion of this House, shaken the confidence which the country should place in those to whom the administration of public affairs is entrusted." On the 12th, Lord John stated that it was certainly true that, when he returned from Vienna, he was of opinion that the propositions of Count Buol might secure an honourable peace. But it did not follow that he thought that the same propositions would be equally efficacious now. On the contrary, he was of opinion that this country had no choice but vigorously to prosecute the war. As this explanation did not much mend matters, and as it seemed certain that his expulsion from office by a parliamentary censure was inevitable, on the 16th his lordship announced his retirement from the ministry. Sir William Molesworth became the new Colonial Secretary.

On the 17th of July, Mr. Roebuck introduced his motion for the severe censure, by the House, of the late ministry. He did this as the sequel to the report on the Sebastopol committee. He called upon the House to vindicate the committee by declaring the whole of the late cabinet guilty, and to blame those who so carelessly discharged their duties. It was evident to all, that Mr. Roebuck, in his motion, aimed at too much—that the House would never sanction it. Many urged that the punishment he was anxious to inflict was too retrospective, and was almost vindictive in its character. The debate lasted two nights. General Peel moved the previous question, and contended that the House had not the means of judging of the expedition to the Crimea. On the second night of the debate, additional interest was imparted to it by the presentation of petitions from Birmingham and Bradford by Mr. Roebuck, and from Totnes by Mr. Otway, praying that ministers



might be impeached. The late government was defended by the Attorney-general, Lord John Russell, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir George Grey, and Lord Palmerston (that is, it was defended by itself). It was censured by Mr. Gaskell, Mr. Whiteside, Mr. Bright, Mr. Disraeli, and others. In his off-hand, free, and easy manner, Lord Palmerston maintained that no errors had been committed, and that no war was ever conducted with such judgment and vigour. In his reply, Mr. Roebuck, after vindicating himself from the charge of malice, observed—"An inquiry has been instituted by this House into a matter which deeply affected the happiness and welfare of my countrymen. A committee brought these matters to a conclusion. I came to this House to ask them if they coincided in that conclusion; and the right honourable gentleman, the member for Wiltshire (Mr. Sidney Herbert), says, most candidly, that I did no more than my duty. I now appeal to the House, and ask them to watch over the great interests of England. I ask them to watch over the army of England. In doing so I have done my duty: it is now for the House to decide whether they will do theirs." The House then divided, when there were for the amendment, 289; against, 182. Mr. Roebuck's motion was consequently lost; and men who were guilty of a negligence and carelessness which had produced the most disastrous results, escaped the condemnation they richly deserved.

Not, however, with this debate did all the difficulties of the session pass away. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget had been agreed to; a loan to Sardinia was granted; but a difficulty arose on one to Turkey, and ministers had but a small majority. It appears, a convention had been signed in London by the ministers of Turkey, England, and France, by which England and France were to guarantee a loan of £5,000,000, to be raised by the Turkish government. The loan was to be effected in London, and was to bear interest at 4 per cent. The French Chamber had approved of the treaty; and, on the 20th of July, Lord Palmerston moved, in the House of Commons, a resolution authorising the queen to guarantee the interest on the loan.

In doing so, his lordship observed, that it was no reproach to the Turkish empire that the ordinary resources were unequal to the emergencies of a great and important struggle, because that happened to all countries engaged in war. "It happens here," he observed; "it happens in France; and, from information which we have received, we believe that, in Russia, the difference between ordinary revenue and war expenditure is greater even than in England, France, or Turkey. We are informed, that whereas the ordinary revenue of Russia is about £30,000,000 sterling, her expenses in this war equal, if they do not exceed, double that amount. The ordinary revenues of Turkey amount to about £10,000,000 sterling. Last year they were obliged to increase their available means, and a loan was negotiated, nominally of £5,000,000, but of which only between two and three were actually raised. That has not been found sufficient for the purposes of the Turkish government; and it was put to France and England that, unless additional means were found to defray the current expenses of the naval and military services of Turkey, they would come to a stand, and it would be impossible for Turkey, out of her ordinary resources, to find the means of defraying the necessary and unavoidable expenses connected with her military and naval operations. The matter was long and seriously considered by the governments of England and France. We felt that, while we were making great exertions in support of Turkey by armies and fleets, if we allowed the very body which we wished to support to fall to pieces, we should be defeating the object we had in view, and rendering fruitless those great efforts for her support; that unless the Turkish government were supplied with the means of paying and maintaining their own army, it would be in vain for England and France to assist in defending that territory." Lord Palmerston added, that there was every reasonable expectation that Turkey would make good its engagements, without throwing any real burden upon the finances of its two allies. The security to be given was, in the first place, the available surplus of the tribute of Egypt,



which amounted to about £65,000 a year; and, in the second, the entire revenue of the Turkish empire.

This proposition was met by a powerful opposition. Mr. Ricardo led the way. Mr. Gladstone said—"Such a proposal, at the commencement of the war, was calculated to produce a deep feeling of suspicion, mistrust, alarm, and aversion." Mr. Disraeli considered, that if England guaranteed the loan, she would have to meet it. Mr. Cobden avowed that they had no more chance of getting the money back than if they threw it into the sewer; and urged, that if they were going to advance the money at all, to take the simple course of making Turkey a present of it. Messrs. Cardwell and Walpole both argued against the loan. The Chancellor of the Exchequer represented, that if the resolution were rejected, the queen would have to communicate to the Emperor of the French, that it was not in her power to fulfil the convention into which she had entered. The difficulty started Lord Palmerston into seriousness; and he made an earnest appeal to the House to pass a measure, the rejection of which, he conceived, would affect the honour of England, endanger the alliance with France, and the safety of Turkey. Upon the House dividing, the numbers were—for the resolution, 135; against, 132: leaving the slender majority of three in its favour. Under the circumstances, perhaps, the House had no alternative. Government had a severe lesson read them; but it was as well that they were not defeated. Had the resolution been rejected, the Emperor of the French must have been irritated; Turkey would have felt herself hardly used; and the co-operation of England and France would have been rendered difficult. Nor did the subject drop here. On the following Monday it was renewed. Mr. Ricardo said he was satisfied that the government of France would willingly have reconsidered the subject. He also protested against the doctrine laid down by Lord Palmerston and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that the appeal to the House of Commons for its sanction to such a measure was a mere matter of form.

On other matters it is scarcely necessary to say much. The war, and what concerned it, chiefly occupied the attention of parliament and people. The Indian budget was brought forward in the House of Commons on the 7th of August, by the President of the Board of Control. It appeared that the expenditure had exceeded the income by upwards of £3,000,000: the excess was partly due to expenditure in public works. He went through the various items of revenue—the land-tax, the opium trade, and the salt duty—in all of which, he thought, an increase might be obtained; but he depended mainly on the development of Indian resources by the opening of railroads, and other means of communication. As for the expenditure, the army could not be reduced; judicial expenses were increased; and he could not anticipate much from the reduction of interest. "If, however," continued the honourable gentleman (so little conscious was he of the coming storm), "the financial prospects of the country were not pleasant, its political prospects were quite brilliant. A treaty had just been concluded with Cabul; satisfactory assurances were received from Nepaul; though Persia was neutral, nothing was to be apprehended from her; and improvements were springing up in all directions." He was obliged to allude to the proofs of torture in the collection of revenue, produced by a document just laid upon the table; the only palliation being that it was done entirely by the natives, though that did not altogether acquit the European superintendent of connivance. A discussion followed, relating almost entirely to the question of torture, as an element in the collection of the Indian revenue; and the report was then agreed to.

In the House of Commons a bill had been introduced, which led to rioting in Hyde Park, of a rather extensive character. It was one for the suppression of all Sunday traffic, and had been proposed by Lord Robert Grosvenor. Its stringent nature caused it to be regarded as tyrannical and oppressive. The small tradesman was to be fined, while the wants of the wealthy would still be attended to by trains of servants, who drove them to church, cooked their dinners, and performed all the duties which fell to their charge on the other days of the week. The



public-house was to be closed to the poor man, while the rich man had only to send to his cellar for all that he required, or might indulge his taste for eating and drinking at his club. This bill excited, as we may justly suppose, much irritation out-of-doors. For some days the metropolis was placarded with posters, appealing to the people, the next Sunday, to go to church with Lord Grosvenor, and then to see his friends in Hyde Park. The appeal was cordially responded to. On Sunday, the 24th of June, many thousands of people assembled in Hyde Park, to see how the aristocracy kept the sabbath. Every carriage seen in the park, or in the adjacent streets, especially if it chanced to be a bishop's, was followed with yells, and that peculiar species of oratory known, in cockney circles, by the slang term of "chaff." When the carriages began to appear for the afternoon drive along the Serpentine, the occupants were saluted with hisses and yells, and cries of "Go to church." The disturbance lasted until dark; and many of the carriage-horses took fright at the shouts of the people, and, by their restiveness, placed their owners in considerable danger. During the following week placards were numerous issued, calling on the people to make a national demonstration against a despotic attempt to coerce them into the better observance of the sabbath. The appeal was responded to, in spite of a notice issued by the commissioners of police, stating that no such demonstration would be allowed to take place: the people collected from all parts of the metropolis. One journal estimated the numbers assembled at 150,000 persons; while another stated the crowd to be a mile long, extending from Apsley House to Kensington Gardens.

If it had not been for the police, this second demonstration would have passed off quietly. In the crowd there were many orators—or men who considered themselves to be such. Naturally, they seized the occasion for treating the public to a specimen of their powers. Quite as naturally, the public gathered in groups around these men, to laugh or applaud, to approve or not, as the case might be. Violent attempts were made by the police to disperse these groups; and many collisions took place, in which the police used their staves with the most culpable freedom. When the carriage company assembled for the afternoon drive, they were not only assailed by yells and shouts of "Go to church," but the mob, irritated by the conduct of the police, began pelting with clods of earth, stones, or anything they could lay their hands on. The police, in their efforts to capture the more prominent orators, charged the people furiously, and struck with their staves with equal impartiality and equal injustice. Men, women, and children were equally obnoxious to the guardians of the peace. So formidable did the disturbance become, that, towards evening, large reinforcements of police were brought from distant quarters. Their services were not needed, as the people began to disperse about eight o'clock. Lord Robert Grosvenor had not been forgotten: his house was surrounded by a mob during the whole day; but, fortunately for his lordship, he did not make his appearance. Nor were the club-houses forgotten. Actually, more than one hundred persons, many of whom were severely hurt, were captured by the police.

During the next week many complaints of the savage conduct of the police appeared in the daily papers, and much indignation was excited on this account. Lord Grosvenor, alarmed for his personal safety, on the 2nd of July, withdrew his feeble and foolish bill. At the same time, urgent appeals were made, by the *Times* and other papers, to the people to stay away, as the object of the demonstration had now been gained. These appeals were largely responded to by the better class of those who had attended in the park; but on the 8th of July, a mob of roughs assembled, and gave way to the most violent and disgraceful proceedings. On account of the outcry raised against the conduct of the police on the previous Sunday, on the present occasion the police kept out of sight altogether, and the mob were permitted to act as they pleased. For a while they amused themselves in forming bodies, which rushed from one end of the park to the other, and in hunting any footman or remarkable person who was rash enough to venture



among them. About five the bulk left the park, and gathered at the top of Grosvenor Place, where they insulted every person who rode or drove by. A part of the mob, consisting chiefly of young blackguards, then detached themselves from the main body, and proceeded down Grosvenor Place, and through Belgrave Square, Eaton Square, and other places, smashing the windows in their progress, and ripe and ready for any mischief that might offer. Fortunately, the arrival of some police dispersed these rioters. By the next Sunday the excitement had nearly died away—not more than 10,000 being present. But it was some time before the park resumed its usual Sunday character; and it was long before the working people forgot the bad feeling created by Lord Robert Grosvenor's obnoxious bill. Of all legislation, that on Sunday trading is the most difficult to preserve from an appearance of one-sidedness and harshness. The poor man is unlike the rich man; nor does the rich man keep the sabbath very strictly: why, then, should he force the poor man to do that which he does not do himself? When will mischievous and well-meaning ladies, and noblemen, and clergy, understand that the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath?

The conduct of the police, on the 1st of July, had been so violent, and public opinion was expressed so broadly concerning it, that an inquiry on the subject was considered necessary. A commission was, therefore, entrusted to the Recorders of London, Manchester, and Liverpool. The inquiry was conducted with some form—a solicitor being appointed to represent the public. It appeared, unquestionably, from the evidence of many witnesses, that instances had occurred in which members of the police had lost their temper, and used much unnecessary violence. The commissioners found that Superintendent Hughes had, without sufficient grounds, ordered his men to use their staves, and had failed to control many excesses of the men under his command. It was also established, that, owing to the large number of persons who had been taken into custody, and placed in the cells of the Vine Street station, they had been there so closely packed as to have suffered, in a degree, much of the horrors endured by the unhappy victims of the Black Hole of Calcutta.

On the 14th of August, parliament was prorogued by commission. Her majesty was made to refer to the Sardinian alliance as follows:—"The accession of the King of Sardinia to the treaty between her majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the sultan, has given additional importance and strength to such alliance; and the efficient force which his Sardinian majesty has sent to the seat of war, to co-operate with the allied armies, will not fail to maintain the high reputation by which the army of Sardinia has ever been distinguished." The speech having alluded to several of the leading measures of the session, referred to the failure of the recent conferences at Vienna, and then observed—"Those endeavours having failed, no other course is left to her majesty but to prosecute the war with all possible vigour. Her majesty, relying upon the support of parliament—upon the manly spirit and patriotism of her people—upon the never-failing courage of her army and navy, whose patience while suffering, and whose power of endurance, her majesty has witnessed with admiration—upon the steadfast fidelity of her allies; and, above all, upon the justice of her cause—puts her trust in the Almighty disposer of events for such an issue of the great contest in which she is engaged, as may secure to Europe the blessings of a firm and lasting peace."

Later in the year, King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway, entered into a defensive treaty with the allied powers, with the object of building up a barrier in the north, against the encroachments of Russia. It was signed at Stockholm, on the 21st of November. The treaty was a generous one on the part of the allies. Recognising the dangers to which Sweden would be exposed if she entered into an offensive league against so powerful a neighbour as Russia, they bound themselves to assist her, if necessary, but required no active assistance from her in the war. King Oscar, by this treaty, bound himself not to cede to, or exchange with, Russia, nor to permit her to occupy, any part of the territories belonging to the crowns of Sweden



and Norway. He engaged, further, not to cede to Russia any right of pasturage or fishery, or of any other nature whatsoever, either on the said territories or on the coast of Sweden and Norway, and to resist any pretension that may be put forward by Russia with a view to establish the existence of the rights aforesaid. About the same time, Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, arrived in this country, where he was received with great enthusiasm.

In the spring of 1856, peace with Russia was finally declared. The treaty consisted of twenty-four articles. Its leading provisions were as follow:—All territories conquered or occupied, on either side during the war, were to be evacuated, and all prisoners of war were to be immediately given up. Turkey was to be admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. All the parties to the treaty engaged to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Turkish empire, and to consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest. The Black Sea was declared neutral, and open to the mercantile marine of every nation, but closed in perpetuity to all vessels of war. This arrangement rendering the maintenance or establishment, upon its coast, of military maritime arsenals alike unnecessary and purposeless, the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey engage not to establish or maintain, upon that coast, any military maritime arsenal. A commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey were each to be represented by one delegate, was formed, for the purpose of removing all obstacles to the navigation of the Danube. The Emperor of Russia, in exchange for the territories occupied by the allies, consented to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia. The territory thus ceded by Russia was to be annexed to the principality of Moldavia, under the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. Wallachia and Moldavia were to enjoy the privileges of which they were in possession, and no exclusive protection was to be exercised over them by any of the contracting powers. Turkey engaged to preserve to the principalities an independent and national existence, as well as full liberty of worship, legislation, commerce, and navigation. The same arrangement was to apply to the principality of Servia. A mixed commission was to be appointed to verify, and, if necessary, rectify, the boundaries of the mutual possessions of Russia and Turkey in Asia. By a convention, annexed to the treaty, it was declared that the Aland Islands should not be fortified, and that no naval or military establishment should be maintained or credited there. Another convention, annexed to the treaty, adopted Count Walewski's reforms in maritime law (which we have already printed), in order to avoid the disputes which had hitherto arisen from the unsettled state of international law upon that subject. These arrangements were not to be binding except between those powers which acceded to them; and, on being laid before the American government, they did not meet with unqualified acceptance by that power.

In this treaty a clause was inserted, which, it was hoped, would bear golden fruit. It contained an arbitration clause. When the peace was talked of, a deputation waited upon Lord Palmerston upon the subject; but he raised all sorts of objections, and held out no hope. The peace people went to Paris; visited Lord Clarendon, who said, "I will do what I can to bring the matter before the congress." He did so; was supported by the French and Prussian plenipotentiaries; and when the treaty was promulgated, it was found to contain this clause—

"The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the names of their governments, the wish, that states between which any serious misunderstandings may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances will allow, to the good offices of a friendly power. The plenipotentiaries hope that the governments not represented at the congress, will unite in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in this protocol."

Mr. Cobden's biographer observes—"This happy innovation, as Lord Clarendon termed it, consoled Cobden, in some degree, for his heartache of the last two years. In the very House which had laughed at his proposal only a short time ago,



Mr. Gladstone spoke eloquently of this protocol, as 'a powerful engine on behalf of civilisation and humanity;' and said 'it asserted the supremacy of reason, of justice, humanity, and religion.' Even Lord Derby accorded 'endless honour' to the diplomatists for adopting it; and Lord Malmesbury talked of its 'importance to civilisation, and to the security of the peace of Europe,' because 'it recognises and establishes the immortal truth, that time, by giving place for reason to operate, is as much a preventive as a healer of hostilities.'" Alas! it does not seem that the arbitration clause has made much difference. Nor is it easy to see how it should. When people have made up their minds—or their rulers for them—to go to war, arbitration clauses have but little effect. Mr. Cobden's panegyrist exclaims—"This was by no means the smallest of Cobden's triumphs. If Mr. Cobden had not done more than this, he would have effected but little in his day." We quite agree with Mr. Kinglake in his estimate of the doings of Mr. Cobden and the Peace Society anterior to the Russian war. They had certainly weakened themselves with the public: at the same time, they had led the czar into the mistake of taking their voice as that of the public. The passage is worth extracting. "Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were members of the House of Commons. Both had the gifts of a manly, strenuous eloquence; and their diction being founded upon English lore rather than upon shreds of weak Latin, went straight to the mind of their hearers. Of these men, the one could persuade, the other could attack; and, indeed, Mr. Bright's oratory was singularly well qualified for preventing an erroneous acquiescence in the policy of the day: for, besides that he was honest and fearless—besides that, with a ringing voice, he had all the clearness and force which resulted from his great natural gifts, as well as from his one-sided method of thinking, he had the advantage of generally being able to speak in a state of sincere anger. In former years, whilst their minds were disciplined by the almost mathematical exactness of the reasonings on which they relied, and when they were acting in concert with the shrewd traders of the north, who had a very plain object in view, these two orators had shown with what a strength, with what a masterly skill, with what patience, with what a high courage, they could carry a great scientific truth through the storms of politics. They had shown that they could arouse and govern the assenting thousands, who listened to them with delight; that they could bend the House of Commons; that they could press their creed upon a Prime Minister, and put upon his mind so hard a stress, that, after a while, he felt it to be a torture and a violence to his reason to have to make stand against them. Nay, more—each of these two gifted men had proved that he could go bravely into the midst of angry opponents; could show them their fallacies one by one; destroy their favourite theories before their very faces, and triumphantly argue them down. Now these two men were honestly devoted to the cause of peace. They honestly believed that the impending war with Russia was a needless war; there was no stain upon their names. How came it that they sank, and were able to make no good stand for the cause they loved so well?

"The answer is simple.

"Upon the question of peace or war—the very question upon which, more than any other, a man might well desire to make his counsels tell—these two gifted men had forfeited their hold upon the ear of the country; they had forfeited it by their former want of moderation. It was not by any intemperate words upon the question of this war with Russia that they had shut themselves out from the councils of the nation; but, in former years, they had adopted, and put forward in their strenuous way, some of the more extravagant doctrines of the Peace Society. In times when no war was in question, they had run down the practice of war in terms so broad and indiscriminate, that they were understood to commit themselves to a disapproval of all wars not strictly defensive; and to decline to treat as defensive, those wars which, although not waged against an actual invader of the queen's dominions, might still be undertaken by England in the performance of a European duty, or for the purpose of checking the undue ascendancy of another power."



In the debate which was raised on the peace, Lord Palmerston said—"I venture to think, that not only in the treaty, but in the course pursued at Paris, the proceedings of government were such as to deserve the approbation of this House and nation. No doubt, there are many in this country who would have been better pleased if no acceptable offers had been made to us, and if the war had gone on; for they anticipated, in that event, greater success would have attended our arms, and a more brilliant meed of glory. Such a feeling was not unnatural. Those who saw the magnificent fleet that was reviewed at Spithead, who knew in what an admirable condition our army in the Crimea now is, and who are aware that our commerce is unimpaired, and that our resources are undiminished by the recent conflict, cling to the thought, that if the war had been prolonged for another campaign, still greater advantages than those already attained might have been secured. It is probable that such would have been the case; and, certainly, if no conditions likely to effect the object of the war had been offered us, no peace would as yet have been made, and we should at least have had one campaign more. But a grave responsibility devolved upon us; and when we were offered terms of peace that seemed well calculated to achieve the purposes for which we had drawn the sword, we felt that it would ill consist with our duty and the dignity of the nation to reject them. A just and necessary war I regard as a duty; but when a war ceases to be just and necessary, I hold it to be a crime."

His lordship thus concluded—"Many people think that no reliance is to be placed on Russia, but that she will continue her long-cherished habits of aggression. I do not concur in that opinion. My belief is, that the present Emperor of Russia is a man of kind and benevolent feelings; not inspired by ambition of conquests, or, at least, that the conquests at which he aims are conquests over ignorance, undeveloped natural resources, and all those difficulties which prevent the progressive improvement of a nation. My hope is that he will turn the great power he possesses to the promotion of the internal prosperity of his empire. That is a task with which the noblest man might be contented, and which the greatest and ablest man, however long he lived, could not accomplish. It is said that if the resources of Russia are developed, she will only become more able to continue acts of aggression. I think that is a mistake. In proportion as nations become prosperous, in the same proportion they value the wealth and comforts which their exertions have procured for them; become wedded to the arts and pursuits of peace; and are weaned from the occupations and objects of war. If, therefore, the Emperor of Russia should devote his energies to the development of the natural resources of those vast plains which are now arid and barren, and to the connection of different parts of his empire by the modern improvements of railways, he will increase the probabilities of peace. But, on the other hand, if those expectations should be deceived; if a period of repose should only be used for the purpose of organising the means of fresh aggressions, then the alliances to which I have pointed—the common union which has been established between the powers of Europe—would prove an insurmountable barrier to any attempt which might be made to violate the peace of the world. Therefore, in looking east, and looking west—looking north, and looking south—looking from the centre of Europe to the extreme confines of Asia, I see nothing but sources of hope in every direction. I trust that this war will have settled the divisions in every part of Europe; that the nations of Europe will turn their attention to the cultivation of the arts of peace; and that those jealousies and rivalries which formerly divided nation from nation, and turned into animosity those feelings of self-respect and self-pride, will be extinguished. I say, that looking in all directions, I see nothing but sources of consolation and hope; and I trust the time is far distant when it will be the lot of any minister of England again to call upon this noble nation for support in any war. If such an occasion should arise, I am convinced, however distant it may be—however the nation may, in the interval, have devoted itself to the arts and pursuits of peace—the same warlike and manly spirit which was brought out by the late crisis,



will still be living in the breast of England. I trust that period may be long deferred, and that the youngest man who sits in this House may not live to see the time when it will be necessary for the responsible servants of the crown to call upon the people of this country to support their sovereign in the prosecution of any war."

The reader who has heard of the sufferings of the Crimean army, naturally asks—Who was hung? Who was imprisoned? Who was compelled to disgorge his ill-gotten gains, or to renounce honours and rank to which he had no legitimate claims? The answer is—No one. Ministers, still credulous as to the truth of the charges made by the committee of which Mr. Roebuck was chairman, sent out to the Crimea Sir John McNeil and Colonel Tulloch, as royal commissioners, to inquire into the state of the war. They arrived in Constantinople in March, 1855. After examining the officers attached to the hospitals at Scutari, where they learned that the sick soldiers were chiefly suffering from diseases brought on by improper and insufficient diet, they proceeded to Balaklava, and commenced a laborious examination of the officers on whom the welfare of the army depended. The report, accompanied by corroborative evidence, was dated June 10th, 1855: but it was kept from the public until February, 1856. It was a sad confirmation of all that had been said as to the disgraceful state of affairs in the Crimea. We make one extract:—

"The sufferings of the army in the course of the winter, and especially during the months of December and January, must have been intense. We have not noted all the particulars related to us, many of which were unconnected with our inquiry; but we may state, that it has only been by slow degrees, and after the frequent repetition of similar details, as one witness after another revealed the facts that had come under his own observation, that we have been able to form any adequate idea of the misery and distress undergone by the troops, or fully to appreciate the unparalleled courage and constancy with which they have endured their sufferings. Great Britain had often reason to be proud of her army; but it is doubtful whether the whole range of military history furnishes an example of an army exhibiting, throughout a long campaign, qualities as high as have distinguished the forces under Lord Raglan's command. The strength of the men gave way under excessive labour, watching, exposure, and privation; but they never murmured; their spirit never failed; and the enemy, though far outnumbering them, never detected in those whom he encountered any signs of weakness. Their numbers were reduced, by diseases and by casualties, to a handful of men, compared with the great extent of the lines which they constructed and defended. Yet the army never abated its confidence in itself, and never descended from its acknowledged military pre-eminence. Both men and officers, when so reduced that they were hardly fit for the lighter duties of the camp, scorned to be excused the severe and perilous work of the trenches, lest they should throw an undue amount of duty upon their comrades. Yet they maintained every foot of ground against the enemy, and with numbers so small that, perhaps, no other troops would have made the attempt. \* \* \* The deaths, including those at Scutari and elsewhere, appear to amount to about 35 per cent. (*one-third*) of the average strength of the army present in the Crimea, from the 1st of October, 1854, to the 30th of April, 1855; and it seems to be clearly established that this excessive mortality is not to be attributed to anything particularly unfavourable in the climate, but to over-work, exposure to wet and cold, improper food, insufficient clothing during part of the winter, and insufficient shelter from inclement weather." In spite of the damning facts contained in the report, the commissioners avoided casting blame on any one. The Earls Lucan and Cardigan; the Commissary-general, Mr. Filder; Quartermaster-general Airey; and Assistant Quartermaster-general, Colonel Gordon, were implicated, but not directly accused. The officials were indignant. Earls Lucan and Cardigan could not contain their rage. Actually, another Board was constituted to whitewash them. Accordingly, a Board of general officers was appointed to



inquire into the truth of the statements contained in the report. The warrant was dated the 25th of February; but the opening of the commission was delayed for some time. It was presumed that Lord Hardinge, then Commander-in-Chief, would willingly have had the matter forgotten; but it had excited too much attention to be settled, or rather unsettled, in that way.

The *Times* sarcastically observed—"There is great difficulty in converting such an assemblage of ancients as the Chelsea commissioners. They are, for the most part, men on the wrong side of seventy; and the east wind is very keen. The nipping and unkind blast has, for the last few days, searched out all the weak points in the scattered frames of the veterans who have been told-off for duty at Chelsea." At length, in April, they met in the hall of Chelsea Hospital. The commissioners were—General Sir Alexander Woodford, General Earl Beauchamp, General Sir George Berkeley, Lieutenant-General Sir John Bell, Lieutenant-General S. W. Rowan, Major-General Peel, and Major-General Knollys. The Board met seven-and-twenty times; and their proceedings excited great interest, many of the spectators being ladies. The Board did what was wished. It impugned the report of Colonel Tulloch and Sir John M'Neil, who had too honestly and too faithfully discharged their duty. Society was satisfied. Lord Lucan had used every exertion to meet the difficulties with which he had to contend. Lord Cardigan was not to blame for the frightful mortality among the horses committed to his care. In like manner, Sir Richard Airey was discovered to have done the best he could. Colonel Gordon was not only acquitted, but commended; and Mr. Filder was considered to have exercised all possible activity. No one was to blame besides the poor Duke of Newcastle, who had long gone into the wilderness, bearing the sins of others on his shoulders. In the Crimea, noble lords had done their duty!—done their duty, though England's best and bravest had rotted away in that inhospitable Crimea like sheep! A nation's anger had been aroused; a strong administration had been shattered in consequence. Men of skill and capacity had been sent out to investigate affairs, and they confirmed, and more than confirmed, all that rumour had said; and now, to please a couple of noble lords, the government upset the verdict of their own commissioners, and stultified themselves, by finding that no one was to blame. And thus, after the tragedy, the British public were treated to the farce.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ENGLAND AT PEACE.

THE Crimean war interfered with parliamentary legislation; but progress, nevertheless, was making in Great Britain all the while.

In 1856, the Earl of Derby, on the opening of parliament, referred to the circumstance that her majesty had recently conferred a life peerage upon Sir J. Parke, one of the barons of the Exchequer. The question was raised as to whether that was constitutional or not. It was referred to the committee for privileges. The committee decided that the new peer could not vote and sit in parliament; and, after some discussion, the report was received. The struggle was thus practically terminated, for no further effort was made, on the part of Lord Wensleydale, to claim his seat, and an hereditary peerage was shortly afterwards conferred upon him in the usual way.

Out of this contest between the crown and the Lords there arose another question. The appellate jurisdiction wielded by the upper House was in a very unsatisfactory state. It was with a view to strengthen it that ministers had endeavoured to make Sir J. Parke, under the title of Lord Wensleydale, a life peer;



and it was expedient that something should be done, in order to make provision for the more efficient discharge of the duties of the House of Lords as a court of appeal. On the motion of Lord Derby a committee was appointed, which subsequently made a report to the House. In it they proposed, that two new offices, to be held by law lords, should be created, and sit with the Lord Chancellor on appeals. In reference to the point at issue between the House and the crown, the report observed—"The attention of the committee has been drawn to the difficulty which may, in some cases, be felt hereafter, of appointing the most fit persons to judicial offices connected with the House of Lords, if it cannot be done without conferring on them hereditary peerages. And it appears to the committee advisable, that any person appointed to such an office, should be enabled, by authority of parliament, to sit and vote in the House, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of a peer in parliament, under a patent conferring a peerage for him only, if the crown may have granted, or shall grant, the same to such persons in preference to an hereditary peerage; provided always that not more than four persons shall have seats in the House of Lords at one time as peers for life." A bill, brought forward on this recommendation, was carried through the Lords. In explaining it, the Lord Chancellor said, it was proposed by this bill that the crown should call to the House of Lords, as peers for life, two judges who had sat on the bench five years, to assist the chancellor in hearing appeals. They were to be called Deputy Speakers, and to have salaries equal to those of the judges of the courts of common law. The bill also enabled sittings in appeal to be held during a prorogation. In the Commons the bill occasioned a long debate. Baron Wensleydale petitioned against it; and, after a fierce debate, it was read a second time. On the 10th of July, Mr. Currie moved that it should be referred to a select committee. Lord Palmerston, in defence of it, said that he should be sorry to see the appellate jurisdiction transferred from the House of Lords; and he considered the bill was the best means of reinforcing it. With respect to life peerages, he thought that the House of Lords had acted erroneously in excluding Lord Wensleydale; and he denied that the bill was the result of a compromise huddled up in a committee, for the convenience of parties. It was merely a compromise arising from the conflict of opinions. His lordship added—"A great deal has been said as to the effect of the bill upon the prerogative of the crown. It is manifest, I think, to everybody who reads it, that it acknowledges the prerogative, and limits it: that, on one side, those who object to life peerages have acknowledged the prerogative of the crown to create them; and, on the other, those who maintain the prerogative have consented to a limitation, for the purpose of establishing the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords on a satisfactory basis." In spite of his lordship's speech, the amendment was carried by a majority of 155 to 133, and the bill was lost.

The education of the people was prominently brought before parliament this year. In March, Lord John Russell proposed the following resolutions to the House:—"1. That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to extend, revise, and consolidate the minutes of the committee of privy council on education. 2. That it is expedient to add to the present inspectors of church schools eighty sub-inspectors, and to divide England and Wales into eighty divisions, for the purposes of education. 3. That it is expedient to appoint sub-inspectors of British, Wesleyan, and other Protestant schools not connected with the church, and also of Roman Catholic schools, according to the present proportion of inspectors of such schools to the inspectors of church schools. 4. That, on the report of the inspectors and sub-inspectors, the committee of privy council shall have power to form in each division school districts, consisting of single or united parishes, or parts of parishes. 5. That the sub-inspectors of schools of each division should be instructed to report on the available means for the education of the poor in each district. 6. That, for the purpose of extending such means, it is expedient that the powers at present possessed by the commissioners of charitable trusts be enlarged, and that the funds, now useless or injurious to the public, be applied to



the education of the middle or poorer classes of the community. 7. That it is expedient that, in school districts where the means of education arising from endowment, subscription, grants, and school pence, shall be found deficient, and shall be declared to be so by the committee of privy council on education, the rate-payers should have the power of taxing themselves for the erection and maintenance of a school or schools. 8. That, after the 1st of January, 1858, when any school districts shall have been declared to be deficient in adequate means for the education of the poor, the quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city, or borough, should have power to impose a school-rate. 9. That where a school-rate is imposed, a school committee, elected by the rate-payers, should appoint the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and make regulations for the management of the schools. 10. That in every school supported in whole or in part by votes, a portion of the Holy Scriptures should be read daily; and such other provision should be made for religious instruction as the school committee may think fit; but that no child should be compelled to receive any religious instruction, or attend any religious worship, to which his or her parents or guardians shall, on conscientious grounds, object. 11. That employers of children and young persons between nine and fifteen years of age, should be required to furnish certificates, half-yearly, of the attendance of such children and young persons at school, and to pay for such instruction. 12. That it is expedient that every encouragement should be given, by prizes, by diminution of school fees, by libraries, by evening schools, and other methods, to the instruction of young persons between twelve and fifteen years of age." After a slight discussion the debate was adjourned. It was renewed again a few days after, when the opposition was led off by Mr. Henley, on the plea that the whole scheme had a tendency to secularise education. The debate was again adjourned, when Lord John Russell explained and defended the whole scheme; and stated, in conclusion, that he did not ask the committee to go beyond the first five resolutions. Eventually, the scheme was suffered to drop: it found support with neither party in the House.

What was practically done in the way of education in this session of parliament was, to vote £451,000 for the educational estimates—a sum exceeding that of the previous year by £54,292.

In the course of the session, a bill was introduced for the reform of the University of Cambridge, founded upon the report of a commission appointed in 1852. The condition of the university was regarded as unsatisfactory, and its results inadequate to its means, in consequence of its constitution not being equal to the requirements of the times. Accordingly a few improvements were introduced in this respect.

Another educational step, in an opposite direction, was that of Mr. Spooner, a man universally respected in the House; but a very bigoted and prejudiced churchman nevertheless. The annual grant to Maynooth had always been opposed by him, but in vain. However, his annual debate was always looked forward to, by irate and irascible Protestants and Catholics, as a famous opportunity for saying unkind things of one another. This time Mr. Spooner partly succeeded. He defeated the government twice—first, in obtaining a vote in favour of the House of Commons going into committee to consider the subject; and, secondly, by obtaining permission to bring in the bill. Mr. H. Herbert having moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months, the government were a third time defeated by a small majority.

The opponents of government centralisation, and the supporters of local self-government and municipal rights, suffered a defeat by the passing of the County Police Bill. Sir George Grey, in introducing it, stated, that it had originated with the committee of the House of Commons of 1853, appointed to inquire as to the expediency of establishing a uniform system of police in England, Wales, and Scotland. That committee made two reports. It showed that the County Constabulary Act had very beneficial results where it had been adopted; that the



system of parish and superintending constables was totally inadequate for its objects; that the non-adoption of the County Constabulary Act in one part, impeded the operation of the police in another part; and that the efficiency of the police was impaired by a want of co-operation between the forces in counties and boroughs. The expense was greater; but then, against that, was to be set down the saving of property otherwise lost, the convenience of the poor, and the prevention of much disorder.

Financially, the House had an unusual amount of business to discharge. On the 23rd of February, it went into committee to assent to resolutions authorising a loan of £5,000,000, and the funding of £3,000,000 of exchequer bills. This was required on account of the war expenditure. Mr. Gladstone cautioned Sir G. Lewis against supposing that the amount stated by him represented either the real cost of the war, or the real amount of debt incurred. The chancellor considered the cost of the war £43,564,374. He thought it would be much more than that. The debt created was probably £36,000,000; and there were many items of charge yet to come in.

The budget was, of course, a heavy one. War is an expensive luxury—at any rate when made by Englishmen. The expenditure was stated by the chancellor at £88,428,335; the revenue derived from taxes, £65,709,491: thus giving an excess of expenditure amounting to £22,723,854. To this excess, £1,000,000 must be added for the loan to Sardinia, and £213,000 for the redemption of hereditary pensions. With regard to the coming year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to continue the existing high rate of the income-tax for two years, and the increased taxation on tea, sugar, and coffee for one. He anticipated a deficiency of £6,873,000. That sum he proposed to borrow. The budget passed with but little opposition.

On another matter there was a regular party fight. It appears that, during the Crimean war, we had opened a depôt for the enlistment of soldiers in America. This had been felt so great a grievance by the government of that country, that friendly relations between it and ourselves were endangered. On the 30th of June, Mr. G. N. Moore brought the subject before the House of Commons by moving the following resolution:—"That the conduct of her majesty's government on the differences that have arisen between them and the government of the United States on the question of enlistment, has not entitled them to the approbation of this House." This was, in reality, a vote of censure. Mr. Moore, in support of his motion, undertook to prove that the neutrality law of the United States had been grossly and deliberately violated by persons acting with the approbation of her majesty's government, which had contemplated and sanctioned the violation of the law. The American government had dismissed our ambassador, Mr. Crampton; and, for this disgrace, her majesty's government found relief by writing letters, to say "they were gratified that their assertions that they did not intend to violate the neutrality laws, or the sovereignty of the United States, had been unreservedly accepted by the president;" which was not the fact. The issue of the whole affair was very simple. Lord Clarendon had been engaged in a petty intrigue: he had been found out; and had brought discredit, not only on his own character, but on the people and the crown of this country. In reply, the Attorney-general denied that the British government had infringed either international law or the municipal law of the United States. The persons intended to be enlisted, he observed, were not American citizens in the proper sense of the term, but British subjects who had emigrated to America, and political refugees from Europe; and if these men desired to leave the United States (provided the municipal law of the United States was not violated), they could be received into our service without any infraction of international law. But it was said men were enlisted on American soil, which was contrary to the law of the United States. This, however, never was intended by the British government; and, he asserted, was, in fact, never done. The United States' government did not deny



that there was nothing in their municipal law to prevent even American subjects, and, *à fortiori*, persons who were only quasi-American subjects, from enlisting in a foreign service beyond the boundaries of the states; and he denied, on the authority of Mr. Crampton and the consuls, that any such illegal enlistment had taken place with the sanction of the British authorities. The allegations that the sovereign rights of the United States had been violated by enlisting subjects of the United States at all, he disputed; contending that the British government were justified in accepting the services of the persons in question beyond the boundaries of the United States. Sir F. Thesiger contended that the American government had been aggrieved by us, and that we must submit to an insult and indignity, the result of our own acts. Sir G. Grey said, that although every precaution had been taken by Mr. Crampton to prevent any violation of the municipal law of the United States, it did appear that persons engaged in that transaction, professing to act with an authority they had never received, had proceeded in a manner calculated to compromise our friendly relations with the United States. The British government, therefore, put an end to the scheme; and offered an ample, though conditional, apology to the government of the United States for these unauthorised acts. They expressed their regret if the law had been infringed; and stated that any such infringement was entirely contrary to their wishes and positive instructions. The government, throughout, had been animated by the best intentions; and they had done nothing by any hasty, harsh, or even unguarded expression, to place themselves in the wrong in case the affair should not be brought to a peaceful and satisfactory result. In the adjourned debate, Mr. Gibson severely condemned the policy of the British government, which was defended satisfactorily by Lord Palmerston; and Mr. Moore's resolution was lost by 274 to 80.

Another American difficulty followed—this time respecting South America. On the 19th of April, 1850, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the United States, relative to the projected establishment of a ship canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by way of the river San Juan de Nicaragua. This was known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, because it was negotiated by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer on the part of England, and Mr. Clayton on behalf of the United States. By the first article of this treaty, the governments of Great Britain and the United States declared that neither the one nor the other would ever erect or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the ship canal; and agreed, that neither would ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify, or colonise, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America: nor would either make use of any protection which either afforded, or might afford, or any alliance which either had, or might have, to do or with any other state or people, for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonising Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising any dominion over the same. In the following May, Lord Palmerston wrote to Mr. H. Bulwer, and informed him, that although the British government were bound in honour to protect the Mosquitos, they thought that protection might be afforded, as effectually as formerly, without any direct internal interference by a resident British agent. He proposed that treaties should be concluded with the states of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica (which border on the Mosquito territory), for the purpose of defending the boundaries between those states respectively and Mosquito; saying, that if such boundaries were once fixed by treaty, the duty of protection would then be usefully performed; and he invited the co-operation of the United States' government in making such an arrangement. He added, that as the part of Grey Town, in the Mosquito territory, would be one of the outlets of the proposed inter-oceanic communication, it was necessary that it should be under the control of some official and organised government. For this purpose, he proposed that the treaty to be concluded



between the Mosquitos and Costa Rica, should so fix the boundary between those states as to include Grey Town within the limits of Costa Rica; some suitable compensation being made to the Mosquitos for this concession on their part.

Grey Town was claimed both by Nicaragua and Costa Rica; but the British government considered it as part of the Mosquito territory, and, consequently, entitled to their protection. The United States' government, however, insisted that Grey Town should belong to Nicaragua. The Nicaraguans had seized it in 1843 or 1844; but it had been forcibly taken from them by the British in 1848; and, since that time, had been held by the Mosquitos, under the protection of this country. This was one point of dispute in what was called the Central American question. The United States' government contended that, by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Great Britain was precluded from giving any practical effect to her protectorate of the Mosquitos, inasmuch as she had bound herself neither to occupy, fortify, colonise, nor assume nor exercise any dominion over the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America. To this the British government answered, that, up to March, 1849, one year after the capture of Grey Town by the British forces, the United States' government made no allusion to that act. That in November, 1849, Mr. Lawrence, who had just then arrived in England as the representative of the United States' government, addressed a note to Lord Palmerston, not asking any question as to the British protection of Mosquito, but requesting to know whether the British government would join with the United States in guaranteeing the neutrality of a ship canal, railway, or other communication between the two oceans, to be opened to the world, and common to all nations? and whether the British government intended to occupy or colonise Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America? To this Lord Palmerston replied, that her majesty's government had no intention of occupying or colonising any of the places so named; and that it would feel great pleasure in co-operating with the government of the United States, for the purpose of assisting the operations of a company which might be formed, with a view to establish a general communication, by canal or railroad, across the isthmus.

The question of the Bay Islands gave rise to another American difficulty. In 1852, the colonial authorities at Belize issued a proclamation in the name of the British government, stating that the queen had been pleased to constitute the islands of Ruatan, Bonaca, Utilia, Barbarat, Helené, and Morat, to be a colony, under the title of the "Colony of the Bay Islands." These islands lay about thirty miles off the coast of Honduras; and, in virtue of our settlement at Belize, we had, at various times, asserted a claim to them, especially Ruatan; and a considerable number of settlers had taken up their abode there, under the protection of the British authorities. The formal constitution, however, of the Bay Islands into a British colony gave great offence to the United States, the government of which declared it to be a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. In a statement addressed by Mr. Buchanan, the American minister at our Court, to Lord Clarendon, Ruatan was described as an island of great value and importance. "Such is its commanding geographical position, that Great Britain, in possession of it, could completely arrest the trade of the United States in its passage to and from the isthmus."

Lord Clarendon replied, that it never was in the contemplation of the British government, nor that of the government of the United States, that the treaty of 1850 should interfere in any way with her majesty's settlement of Belize, or its dependencies; and that it was not necessary that this should have been particularly stated, as it was generally considered that the term Central America could only appropriately apply to those states at one time united under the name of the Central American Republic, and now existing as free separate republics. But in order that there should be no possible misconception, at any future period, relative to this point, the two negotiators, at the time of ratifying the treaty, exchanged declarations, to the effect, that neither of the governments they represented had



meant, in such treaty, to comprehend the settlement and dependencies in question. Lord Clarendon then intimated the willingness of the British government to arrange its differences with the government of the United States on fair terms. Subsequently, he offered, on the part of the British government, to submit the question of the right of interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to the arbitration of a third power. This proposal the American government declined. Happily, in August of this year, the matter was amicably arranged by a convention between the two governments and the republic of Honduras. By this convention, the sovereignty of the disputed territory was acknowledged to be vested in Honduras. That power, however, engaged not to disturb any British subjects in the enjoyment of their property in the Bay Islands. The Mosquito territory was also conceded, conditionally, on the payment of an equivalent to the government of the republic of Honduras: the rights of all British residents were, however, to be respected; and thus that diplomatic storm in a teapot passed away.

The state of Italy created a great deal of uneasy feeling in this country. It was felt that the peace had done nothing for her. In the House of Lords, Lord Lyndhurst had raised a discussion on this subject, which had been met by Earl Clarendon with official reserve. He did not believe that, until the joint pressure of France and England could be brought to bear in all its force, the result desired for the amelioration of Italy could be obtained. Her majesty's government had the subject as much at heart as the parliament or the people of this country had. In the House of Commons the question was raised by Lord John Russell. The debate was chiefly remarkable for an able speech by Mr. Disraeli. He said, after condemning the introduction of the subject into the Paris conferences, there were two modes of dealing with it. We could, in concert with France, go to war with Austria; and, after one of those long wars like the Punic war, we could emancipate the people of Italy. If that was the policy of the government, they were bound frankly to declare it, to appeal to parliament, and to take the verdict of the country upon it. The second practical mode was by diplomatic communications—first friendly advice, and then admonitions—to the ruling powers; and, without fleets or armies, set Italy in flames. Lord Clarendon said—"The state of Naples was 'exceptional;' but what was there in the state of Naples more exceptional than there was in the state of Austria or Russia, except that those were strong powers, and Naples was a weak one? Well, if we admonished Naples, and sent a fleet, then the Neapolitans would know that, if they rose, Austria would not intervene. But it was not only a contest between worn-out dynasties and an intelligent class that was going on in Italy. The secret societies did not care for constitutional governments. We know something more of these secret societies than we did. Since 1848, we have had means of obtaining a knowledge of their numbers, organisation, principles, and objects; and without some consideration of these, it would be absolutely impossible for us to form a conception of what would be the consequence of our interference in the affairs of Italy. It is useless to deny, because it is impossible to conceal, that a great part of Europe, the whole of Italy and France, and a great part of Germany—to say nothing of other countries—are covered with a network of these secret societies, just as the superficies of the earth is now covered with railroads. And what are their objects? They do not attempt to conceal them. They do not want constitutional government; they do not want ameliorated institutions; they do not want provincial councils, nor the recording of votes. They want to change the tenure of land; to drive out the present owners of land; and to put an end to ecclesiastical establishments. Some of them may go further. Do you think that, with their complete organisation, when Austria cannot interfere to occupy the kingdom of Naples, when the king is lectured on his throne by the western powers, and when the feelings of the people are aroused, these societies will be quiet? I am told that a British minister has boasted that, by holding out his hand, he could raise a revolution in Italy to-morrow. I believe it is not impossible; with the means at his disposal, he might. What would happen?



You would have a republic formed on extensive principles; and there may be many intelligent and well-meaning persons who would say—and what then? Nothing can be worse than the present state of Italy. But the question of Italian politics is not of that simple character. Rome is not far distant from Naples. The passage from Naples to the states of the church is not difficult. You may have triumphs again established in Rome; the pope may again be forced to flee (my honourable friend behind me, Mr. Spooner, may say, 'So much the better'); and not a cardinal be left in Rome. What will be the consequences of that? The two great Catholic powers in Europe, France and Austria, will pour their legions over the whole peninsula. You will have to withdraw the British fleet; your admonitions will be thrown into the mud; and your efforts to free Italy from the occupation of foreign troops, will terminate by rendering the thralldom a thousand times more severe, and augmenting the miseries of the unfortunate people whose passions you have fired, and whose feelings this night you have begun to arouse. These secret societies were in a higher state of organisation in France than in any other state in Europe. If Italy was in flames, would it have no effect on the French societies? The ruler of France was a man of rare sagacity; he had been schooled in adversity; a triumphant army was devoted to him. But we all remember another great prince, whose sagacity was proverbial—who had been schooled in adversity—who was seconded by an army which he and his princes had formed—yet he fell, solely and entirely by the action of the secret societies. He had touched upon these points because this was no holiday question. He could sympathise as keenly as any one with Italy. He hoped the time would come when, in that country, there would be neither secret societies nor despots: but these were questions for the closet, and not for a practical and popular assembly. As to Sardinia, there was no danger to the king so long as he, within his dominions, pursued the policy he believed to be for the advantage of his subjects. If they were not prepared to interfere in Italy with fleets and armies, they should abstain from stirring up the passions of the people." However, the motion of Lord John Russell, "for copies, or extracts, of any recent communications which may have taken place between her majesty's government and the Two Sicilies," was agreed to without a division.

In ecclesiastical affairs, some little excitement was occasioned by a circumstance which was considered rather discreditable to the parties concerned. In the month of June, the Bishop of London wrote to Lord Palmerston, communicating his desire, on account of continued illness, "if allowed by law," to resign his bishopric, on a clear annuity of £6,000 being secured to him through life. The Bishop of Durham, who was nearly blind, and incapable, from infirmity, of discharging the duties of his see, made a similar application, on condition of receiving an annual allowance of £4,500. At these doings, on the part of holy men, the profane scoffed. However, the ministry were less squeamish, and the Lord Chancellor brought forward a bill in the upper House, for permitting the retirement, upon pensions, of the Bishops of London and Durham. In spite of strong objections it passed the Lords. On the 22nd of July, Lord Palmerston moved its second reading in the House of Commons, where, reluctantly, the bill was carried; but where, also, it met with great opposition from two parties. The churchmen, such as Sir W. Heathcote, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Napier, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Henley, argued that the bill was partial and incomplete; that it threw difficulties in the way of future and general legislation; and proposed to apply a local remedy to an old evil. The resignation to which it was to give effect was conditional; and they argued that the principle of conditional resignation was not accepted by the church, which required that it should be *absoluté, sponté, puré et simpliciter*; whereas the bill was nothing but a resignation upon a pecuniary condition, which was illegal. The transaction, sanctioned by the bill, was of a simoniacal character. It was a bargain between the minister and the bishops. It raised, for the first time, the question whether the tenure of spiritual peers should be for life, or for such period only as parliament should provide? It was an



act for which there had been no precedent since the Reformation. It was further objected that the preamble of the bill did not contain a correct recital of the case. It stated that the bishops had expressed a desire to vacate their sees, on account of their inability to discharge the duties of their offices. If that were true, it would be a perfectly legitimate proceeding; but the preamble suppressed the facts of the contract—the pecuniary conditions upon which they proposed to retire. The remedy suggested was, instead of the ministerial measure, a general one, similar to that brought in by Sir Robert Peel, which applied to all cases. The second section of opponents consisted of Mr. Thomas Duncombe and Mr. Roebuck. The former urged that it would perpetuate a great scandal, and exhibit Christian bishops availing themselves of an act of parliament to break the law. Two prelates, who had become incompetent from age and disease, said, “If you buy us off, we are willing to go.” That was a corrupt contract. If, instead of bishops, they had been rectors, they would have been told at once to relinquish their offices. These two bishops had no right to dictate to parliament the terms on which they would resign. If they had thrown themselves on the generosity of parliament, they would have been generously dealt with. The bill was a scandal, and ought to be branded by the House. So argued Mr. Duncombe. Anti-state churchmen said—What a revelation is this of the mockery of a state church! A bishop professes to exist for the glory of God, and to promote his kingdom. Age renders him unable to do this; yet he will retain his office, incapable as he is, unless he is paid to give it up. Nor were the defenders of this shameful measure able to plead poverty as a defence; as, of all existing prelates, the two in question were admitted to be the most wealthy.

In July, the Lord Chancellor drew the attention of the House of Peers to the subject of the consolidation of the law. The statutes of the realm, he said, were 15,000 in number, and were comprised in forty folio volumes of small type. It had been determined to make a general classification of them, and consolidate them under different heads—as criminal laws; laws relating to property; and laws relating to mercantile matters. It was found, however, it would be useless unless an improved mode of legislation were adopted in future; and the commissioners suggested the appointment of an officer, who should advise on the legal effect of every bill, and on the state of the law affected by it. A great portion of the statutes were not law, but matters of temporary enactment—regulations of the army and navy, local regulations, and acts relating to finance. In the last year, 134 acts passed, and sixty-eight of them were temporary enactments. By classifying the bills into temporary ones, and such as laid down some general rule of conduct, the additions to the statute-book would be diminished one-third. At the beginning of next session, government intended to appoint an officer of the kind indicated; and he hoped that both Houses would acquiesce in the appointment of a committee, through whom that officer might communicate with them. The consolidation of the criminal law had been undertaken by Lord Wensleydale; the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Fitzroy Kelly, and Mr. Greaves. They had found, however, that they could not include, in the consolidation, offences connected with the bankruptcy and custom laws, and laws relating to religion. With these exceptions, all the laws relating to indictable offences had been consolidated into six statutes, under the head—offences of high treason; against public justice; against the person; of larceny and theft; of malicious injury to property; and forgery. In two short bills they had embodied the laws relating to principal and accessory, and all the acts relating to criminal proceedings. The commissioners thought that the law might be reduced from 15,000 to 300 acts; and that, instead of occupying forty, they would occupy four moderately-sized volumes.

The subject of torture in India was discussed, and strongly reprobated by the Lords, jealous for the honour of English rule. The Earl of Albemarle—who presented a petition from certain inhabitants of Madras, complaining of infliction of torture by the officers of the government, and praying for protection—moved



some resolutions, which, having been amended, were carried, as follows:—"That by a report lately laid on the table, it is proved, to the entire conviction of the House, that torture, or the infliction of pain for the purpose of confession or extortion, has long been practised in India; and that, though derived from former governments, and steadily decreasing, both in severity and extent, under British rule, it still continues to be practised by the native officers of government in the realisation of the public revenues, and the administration of criminal law, to a greater or less extent, throughout all the provinces constituting the government of Madras. That the aforesaid torture, although clandestine and illegal, has been known for many years to exist, and has been repeatedly condemned and denounced by the authorities at home, and in India, as shown in the public records. That this House observes, nevertheless, with great regret and disapprobation, the very inadequate punishments which have been frequently inflicted upon the perpetrators of these atrocious crimes. That the House relies upon the zealous and continued exertions of all persons in authority, in this country and India, to extirpate a practice disgraceful to the character of our government, and calculated to render it odious to the people of England." It seems incredible, yet actually such was the case—at this very time, the commissioners reported the existence of thirty-four kinds of torture in use under British sanction. Amongst these, were deprivation of food and water; hindering a man from sleeping; hanging a necklace of bones, or other offensive materials, round his neck (a punishment peculiarly offensive to a Hindoo); compelling a man to sit on his heels, with brickbats or sharp stones under his hams; striking the heads of two defaulters against each other; tying two persons together, in a stooping position, by the hair of their heads; tying a man, in a stooping position, to the wheel of a cart; tying a man, by the hair of his head, to the tail of an ass, and parading him through the market; forcing a man into a stooping posture with another man on his back; binding a man to one tree, and hoisting his leg by a rope attached to another; suspending a man by his heels to the bough of a tree; suspending by the wrist, and scourging him while in the air; placing the victim on a nest of red ants; pounding the joints with mallets of soft wood; flagellation with every kind of scourge, in every part of the human body, and with such severity as occasionally to cause death; tying rags round the fingers, and setting fire to them; burning various parts of the body with a lighted cheroot, heated packing-needles, and searing-irons; wrapping the body in cotton steeped in oil, and setting fire to it; compression of the sensitive organs of the body; driving thorns under nails; filling the nostrils, eyes, and other parts of the body with Cayenne pepper.

Again Indian affairs came under discussion. Sir E. Perry called attention to the increasing deficiency in the revenue of India. The deficit in the year ending April, 1855, he said, exceeded £2,500,000; and he had no hesitation in saying, that of the passing year would not be less than upwards of £2,000,000. He showed that, over a large series of years, the revenues of India had greatly increased; but that, latterly, there had been a deficiency of revenue, which had been increasing from year to year. To what was this unsatisfactory state of things to be attributed? The President of the Board of Control had said that the deficiency was chiefly owing to the expenditure on public works: but he asserted that the cause was to be found in the series of wars, and the annexation of territory, in which the Indian government had been engaged. After a review of the administration of Lord Dalhousie, and dwelling particularly upon the recent annexation of the kingdom of Oude, he contended that the doctrine of annexation was unsound financially. On the higher grounds, also, of right and justice, the House, he said, was called upon to interfere, and check the system of territorial aggrandisement in India, which must tarnish the British name, and weaken the foundations of its rule.

After-events showed these words were wise ones. But the government saw not their wisdom. Mr. Vernon Smith totally dissented from the doctrine that



annexation of territory was to be considered with reference solely to pecuniary profit. If a particular annexation got rid of a state of perpetual inquietude, it was impossible to say what its value might not be. He questioned the accuracy of Sir E. Perry's figures; and stated that the expense of public works amounted to nearly half the deficit of revenue. With regard to the annexation of Oude, he believed that, when the papers were before the House, the public, so far from being dissatisfied, would wonder that such a state of things should have been allowed to exist so long by a power which was the paramount authority in India. In July, the House went into committee on the East India Company's revenue accounts. Of course there was a deficit, which was said to be caused by the expenditure of money upon the public works. The largest portion of the Indian revenue was derived from land. In the Madras presidency, it seemed desirable that there should be a survey, and fresh reassessments. Lord Harris was of opinion that a reduced assessment would lead to an increase of the revenue. As regarded cotton, some successful experiments had been made; and the prejudices of the natives against the saw-gin, for cleaning the cotton, were giving way. On the whole, he saw nothing that should lead to despair of raising the revenue. But there was another mode of producing a surplus—a reduction of expenditure. He could not concur in the proposal to effect this by employing the native army more, and the queen's troops less: he could not think it possible to reduce the military expenditure. But there was the civil service. Admitting that it ought to be highly paid, he knew of no other service where a man of twenty could enter at £350, and rise to £4,500. Nothing, however, would be done in the way of an immediate reduction of civil salaries; but the government would keep the advantages of reduction in view.

The blind were leading the blind. On the eve of a bitter and bloody tragedy, the official mind was mildly hopeful and cheerful. Mr. Smith referred to the annexation of Oude as a step rendered necessary by the circumstances of the country. As to the social condition of India, that was most promising. There were 350 miles of railway in operation, and 4,000 miles of electric telegraph. The police of India were in a defective state; but Lord Canning had its amendment under consideration. Everything possible would be done to eradicate the horrible system of torture; and any person inflicting it would be punished with the severest penalties, and dismissal. He gave a flourishing account of the progress of education in India, and described the interest the natives took in the subject. He observed, it would be a proud day for England when, maintaining her rule over this distant and populous empire, she could yet say that, to the utmost of her power, she had advanced the physical prosperity, and elevated the moral and intellectual character of the people of India—objects wholly overlooked by their ancient dynasties. When next we return to Indian affairs, we shall have to listen to a sadder tale.

The close of the session ended with a review of it by Mr. Disraeli, chiefly remarkable for a definition of Conservative principles. "I hold," said the orator, "that to be a Conservative principle which regards the parliamentary settlement of 1832 as a satisfactory settlement. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which, without any blind or bigoted adherence to the doctrine on all possible occasions, believes that tampering with the suffrage is a great evil to the state. I believe I am right in maintaining that that is a Conservative principle which holds that the due influence of property in the exercise of suffrage is salutary and beneficial. I think it is a Conservative principle which holds that, in any representative scheme, the influence of landed property ought to be sensibly felt. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which maintains that the establishment of the church should be respected, and that the church itself should not be the stipendiary of the civil power. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which would maintain the established church in Ireland, believing that it is perfectly reconcilable with respect for the rights and privileges of all classes of her majesty's subjects in that kingdom. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which would



cherish and protect all hereditary influences, because they are the source of a power at once beneficent and economical. I hold that to be a Conservative principle which would respect venerable corporations, and uphold a free magistracy throughout the country." On foreign policy, Mr. Disraeli declared his party to be adverse to the dismemberment of the Russian and Austrian empires, and in favour of the expansion of the United States. He argued, that the government, with regard to subjects of internal interest, were pursuing a course in harmony with Conservative principles. It would be better, however, that avowed Conservatives should carry out a Conservative policy. His consolation was, that if the present system continued, it must exercise a deleterious influence on the Liberal party. He called on the Conservatives to take heart, since the Liberal party could not long exist, when its chief and selected men were in power, and continued to hold office, not only without carrying Liberal principles into effect, but without even frankly avowing them.

Some minor events may be chronicled here. In March, Covent Garden was burnt down while a masked ball was being held. Some of the property was insured; but the building was not, as no office had been willing to grant a policy since the fire in 1818.

In February, the political world was startled on learning that the body of Mr. John Sadleir had been found lying dead on Hampstead Heath. A still greater sensation was created when it was found that this patriotic Irish M.P. was a swindler as well as a suicide: yet such actually was the case. Mr. Sadleir was founder of the Tipperary Joint-Stock Bank, of which his brother, James Sadleir, M.P., was the manager, and sole director. The latter had permitted his brother John to overdraw more than £200,000; and this, with other fraudulent mismanagement, caused the deficit of the bank to exceed £400,000. The assets were stated to be £100,000; but they proved to be little more than £30,000. A great amount of misery was caused by this infamous affair. Not only were the depositors in the south of Ireland—chiefly small farmers and tradesmen—defrauded of their whole savings, but the shareholders were stripped of every farthing they possessed. The means taken to entrap the latter class were infamous. Only a month before the crash, the Sadleirs had published a balance-sheet and report, representing the concern as most flourishing. A dividend, at the rate of 6 per cent., was declared; and £3,000 was carried to the reserve fund, thus making it £17,000. By means of this deception, a considerable number of persons, most of them widows, spinsters, and half-pay officers, were induced to become shareholders, and lost their all. Endless suits were brought by attorneys, who had purchased debts due by the company, against these unhappy persons. Some became insolvent; others absconded with what cash they could raise. The manager, Mr. James Sadleir, did the same. The direct cause of Mr. Sadleir's suicide, was his inability to obtain from his solicitors a large sum of money for the Tipperary Bank. It was also known he had committed forgery. The firm of Messrs. Wilkinson, Gurney, and Stevens, had frequently advanced large sums to Mr. Sadleir; and latterly the balance had become so large that they required security. This Mr. Sadleir had given about six weeks before his death. It purported to be a deed given on the purchase of an estate in the Encumbered Estates Court. The excited conduct of Mr. Sadleir, on his last application to his solicitors for money, had created suspicion; and, on inquiry, the deed was discovered to be a forgery; and others were subsequently discovered. The wretched man preferred the suicide's grave to the felon's gaol; hence his ignominious end. He had been a great man amongst the Irish Liberals, and had held office.

Another banking revelation added to the uneasiness of the investing public. The Royal British Bank had been started in London under happy auspices, to inaugurate the Scottish system of banking in this metropolis. For a time all went on as well as its most sanguine friends could desire. At length rumours got afloat that its affairs were in an unhealthy state; and it was manifest that the shares



were falling considerably in value. In consequence of this, the directors announced their determination to reduce the dividend from 6 to 4 per cent., in order to make more than ordinary provision for bad or doubtful debts. This, as might be anticipated, instead of making things better, had quite a contrary effect. Sales were pressed; a run on the deposits took place; and on the 3rd of September the bank closed. A general confusion immediately arose among the shareholders and depositors. The share capital was put at £300,000, of which half, it is said, was paid up. The debts due to depositors consisted of £500,000; and the assets were worthless, or nearly so. It came out that more than £100,000 had been advanced upon a Welsh mine, worth not a third of the money; and that the directors, manager, and auditor, had been helping themselves to the funds without scruple. Mr. Gwynne, a retired director, was indebted £13,600; Mr. John M'Gregor, M.P., the founder of the bank, £7,000; Mr. Humphry Brown, upwards of £70,000; Mr. Cameron, the manager, about £30,000. It was hoped that when the shareholders had paid up the calls, there might be eight or ten shillings in the pound for the creditors. This was bad enough; but what did happen was worse. The lawyers got hold of the debts, and sued the individual shareholders right and left. Sometimes a hundred writs were issued for a single claim. To avoid this ruinous procedure an attempt was made to wind up the company, under the Winding-up Act. This proceeded to some extent; an official manager was appointed, who got in a large sum of money, and made a heavy call upon the shareholders. But another set of creditors resolved to have the affairs of the company wound up under the Court of Bankruptcy Act; and a fiat was accordingly issued, and assignees appointed. This step was resisted, on the ground that the Winding-up Act being in operation, the power of the Bankruptcy Court was suspended. But it did not appear that there was any express provision to that effect; and the official assignee proceeded to make a call of £50 per share. Thus the unfortunate persons, having already paid one-half of their undertaking, were actually called upon to pay £125 more. Many were absolutely unable to meet this demand; some went into the *Gazette*; and others went abroad. The two official gentlemen then commenced a fight between themselves for the plunder. In short, such a scene of waste, litigation, and misery ensued as can scarcely be described. The affairs of this unfortunate undertaking did not come to a conclusion until the following year, when, in consequence of the decision of the judge in bankruptcy upon the conduct of the directors and officials, the government ordered some of them to be prosecuted.

England lost her Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hardinge, the successor of the Duke of Wellington. "Few officers," says the *Times*, "have served so long, and with so many opportunities for distinction; and of Lord Hardinge it must be said, that in the field he was always equal to the occasion. We do not claim for this gallant soldier the praise of military genius of the highest order. He was neither a Marlborough nor a Napoleon, nor a Wellington; but the work which he had to do he always performed efficiently and well. From the lowest grade he rose to the very highest rank by his own deserts. He was not connected by birth with any noble family, nor with any influential clique in military circles, and yet he became Commander-in-Chief. Slender, indeed, was the chance that Henry Hardinge, the son of a clergyman in the north of England, who entered the army, as an ensign, in the year 1798, should have obtained the dignities of Governor-general of British India, and Commander-in-Chief. It may be said that the accidents of life were on his side; but they were no more so than in the case of a thousand others, who have passed away, their names unknown. \* \* \* \* In October, 1852, four years after the expiration of his Indian government, Lord Hardinge was raised to the highest post within the ambition of a military man: he was appointed Commander-in-Chief, to succeed the Duke of Wellington. This important post he held until a recent period, and throughout the eventful epoch of the Russian war. Few men have actually seen war upon so great a scale, or been concerned in directing operations of such magnitude at home. It was not Lord Hardinge's fault, nor can



it be imputed as blame to him, that he inherited the traditions and practices of a glorious period in the military annals of Great Britain, which had served their turn full well, but were no longer applicable to the exigencies of modern warfare. \* \* \* \* In the recent conflict with Russia, his office was one of selection rather than of direct participation; and in his selections he was not very fortunate. The qualities which seem to have recommended Lord Hardinge to honour and fame were, in the first place, unflinching courage in the most terrible trials, or in the most unexpected horrors of war. He was distinguished, moreover, by a buoyancy of spirit, by a cheerfulness, by a geniality which made him ever acceptable to those around him. Almost to the last, when weight of years and of lengthened service was beginning to tell upon him, he was a ready and efficient man of business."

Some pleasing anecdotes have been preserved of him. Mr. Edwards, author of *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, says Lord Hardinge told him, after the battle of Ferozeshakur, as soon as darkness had closed in, and the firing on both sides had ceased, he went from regiment to regiment, lying down on the ground for a short time with each, to feel their pulse, as he said. Finding the men all in good heart, notwithstanding the terrible struggle in which they had been engaged, and the heavy losses they had sustained, Lord Hardinge made up his mind to retain his position, and recommence the action on the following morning, rejecting the many suggestions made to him to march on Ferozepore. He did so, and the victory of Sobraon was gained. Again, when remonstrated with as to the crossing the Sutlej into the Punjaub, his characteristic answer was—"Depend upon it I am right; for the safest and wisest course, when you have knocked the wind out of your enemy, is to go right at his heart at once, before he has time to recover." Another of his sayings was, says Mr. Edwards—"Never wake me for good news, for good news will keep; but come to me immediately, and wake me up, if you have bad, as immediate measures may be requisite." It is in such sayings as these we see the old soldier, determined to fight and win as long as life lasts.

Lord Hardinge's successor was the Duke of Cambridge, son of Adolphus Frederick, the first duke; a grandson of King George III., and first cousin of her majesty Queen Victoria. His royal highness was born at Hanover, 1819, and succeeded his father in 1850. He became colonel in the army (1837.) In 1845, he was advanced to the rank of major-general; in 1854, to that of lieutenant-general, when he was appointed to command the two brigades of Highlanders and Guards, united to form the first division of the army sent in aid of Turkey. In 1856 he became a general. At the battle of the Alma, his royal highness led his troops into action in a manner to win the confidence of his men, and the respect of the veteran officers with whom he served. At Inkermann he was again actively engaged, and had a horse shot under him. After this battle, he was ordered by the medical authorities to retire from the camp (the dangers and privations of which he had shared with his men), in order to recruit his health at Pera. After a short stay in Turkey, he was directed to return to England, and subsequently gave the result of his camp experience, in evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the conduct of the war. In the important office which he now fills he seems to give satisfaction to the public at large.

Turning to the lower ranks of life, we find a very serious question as to combinations against workmen. On the 1st of September, ten respectable-looking young men surrendered to take their trial upon an indictment charging them with misdemeanour, in having unlawfully conspired together to prevent and intimidate certain workmen from entering into the employ of Messrs. Young, Magnay, and Young, ship-builders. The prosecutors carried on business at Limehouse, and employed from 300 to 400 men; and three of the defendants were formerly in their employ. All the defendants were members of the Shipwrights' Union—an association formed to protect the interests of the trade. The customary hours of



labour were from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., during which period the men were allowed half-an-hour for breakfast, one hour for dinner, and twenty minutes in the morning, and half-an-hour in the afternoon, for beer. The prosecutors found that such frequent intervals of cessation from labour were a great hindrance to business. They therefore thought that an alteration might be made in this arrangement. They accordingly proposed that an hour should be allowed for breakfast; that the men should leave off work at half-past five, instead of six o'clock; and that the intervals for beer should be abolished. The Union, of which the defendants were members, determined to resist this. Before the commencement of the alteration the whole of the men struck. The prosecutors appealed to them, and offered to refer the matter to arbitration; but the Union would not consent to any arrangement.

The intimidation complained of arose in this way. The men hired a room at a public-house opposite the gate of the prosecutors' factory, from whence they had an opportunity of seeing everything that took place in it. The prosecutors endeavoured to obtain fresh hands in London; but attempts to engage men in Wales, at Gloucester, Southampton, Jersey, and other places, proved unsuccessful; as, in several cases where men had agreed to accept employment in the prosecutors' establishment, some of the defendants interrupted them, and induced them to break their engagements. At length Messrs. Young succeeded in obtaining a number of men from Jersey and other places; but their new hands were immediately subjected to a course of intimidation on the part of the defendants, and others connected with the Union: they were watched when they left the premises, and followed and threatened. A crowd of idle and disorderly people assembled every day; great excitement was created; and language was made use of calculated to arouse the strongest feelings of prejudice against the prosecutors. The state of things prevailed at times to such an extent as to put a complete stop to business, and render it necessary to apply for the assistance of the police. The proceedings reached a climax on the 26th of July, when a complete riot took place, and many of the men employed by the prosecutors were severely handled. Several of the defendants took part in this violence, and did all in their power to obstruct the workmen, and intimidate them from going on with their employment. One of the prosecutors was himself assaulted; and they ultimately found it necessary to commence legal proceedings for their own protection.

The question raised was, how far it was competent for trades' unions to interfere with the natural course of the labour-market, and dictate to employers, on the one hand, the terms on which alone they are to be suffered to engage their workmen; or, on the other, by violence and intimidation, to prevent the labouring classes from accepting employment on such conditions as they may think proper to submit to. The law, on this point, was thus explained during the course of the trial:—"It was quite competent for either masters or workmen to combine together for their mutual protection, and for the advancement of their mutual interests. A master is at liberty to say that he will not give employment except upon certain terms; and workmen are equally at liberty to refuse their labour except upon certain conditions. Neither party, however, has a right to go beyond this; and the law will not permit persons who choose to accept other terms to be obstructed, and still less will it permit them to be intimidated."

The upshot of the whole was, that the evidence for the prosecution fully established the lawless proceedings of the unionists; and, on the advice of their counsel, the prisoners retracted their plea of not guilty, and admitted their defence. Under these circumstances Baron Bramwell was content to order them to put in recognizances to appear to receive judgment when called upon.

These struggles between labour and capital are much to be regretted. In reality they are not enemies, but mutual allies. It is difficult to understand how any intelligent workman can fail to perceive this, as it is clear that what injures the capitalist takes from him the power of employing labour. It is also clear that it is the interest of both parties to exercise a mutual good-will and forbearance.



In another, and a better, direction the working classes were combining. They were working for good results—to save their money; to invest it carefully; and to reap the results in increased independence and power. In a speech delivered about this time, Mr. Sothorn, M.P. for Wilts, stated that the total number of friendly societies was not less than 33,232; and the aggregate of the members which they included, amounted to 3,032,000. The financial revenue of these societies was £4,980,000; and the accumulated capital was no less than £11,360,000. Here was combination of the right kind—one which has ever since been going on, till we are astonished at the funds in the hands of the working classes. Then, again, there was the freehold land movement, which deserves a place in any history of the time; as, politically, and morally, and socially, it did, and still does, an immense amount of good.

Some time back, the *Times* asked scornfully, as Pilate of old did concerning truth, what was a Freehold Land Society? Viewed in a business light, it is simply a society for the purchase of land. It involves two commercial principles well understood—that purchasers should buy in the cheapest market, and that societies can do what individuals cannot. Till the movement originated, the purchaser of a small plot of ground had to pay, in lawyer's expenses connected with the purchase, frequently as much as he paid for the plot itself. A society buys a large piece of ground. They make roads through it; they drain it; they turn it into valuable building-land: they thus raise its value; and they divide it amongst their members, not at the price at which each allotment is worth, but at the price which each allotment has cost. Being also registered under the Friendly Societies' Act, the conveyance costs the purchaser generally from 25s. to 30s.; and thus a plot worth £50 is often put into the fortunate allottee's hands for half that sum. Of course, different societies have different rules; but they all aim at the same end, and effect that end in pretty nearly a similar manner. Thus a member generally, if he subscribe for a share of £30, pays a shilling a-week, and a trifling sum a quarter for expenses. With the money thus raised an estate is purchased. It is then cut up into allotments, and balloted for. If the subscriber has paid up, he, of course, takes the land, and there is an end of the matter. If he has not, the society gives him his allotment, but saddled with a mortgage. In some societies the members are served by rotation, and "first come" are "first served." The more generally adopted plan, however, is division by ballot. There has been some doubt as to the legality of the ballot: the Conservative Society has taken the opinion of eminent counsel upon this matter, and their opinion is, that the ballot is perfectly legal. The rotation societies offer no inducements to new members to join them; so division by ballot has come to be almost the universal rule. In the National, for instance, there was a ballot daily for all subscribers of three months' standing. This has recently been altered. A ballot takes place every day, to which all are eligible whose subscriptions are paid up. If you join the National, you may go to the ballot immediately.

As the National is the largest of the existing Freehold Land Societies—its receipts being enormous—we will briefly allude to its prospectus as a still further illustration of what a Freehold Land Society is. The especial objects of this society are described as "to facilitate the acquisition of freehold land, and the erection of houses thereon; to enable such of its members as are eligible to obtain the county franchise, and to afford to all of them a secure and profitable investment for money." In the National, all the expenses are defrayed out of a common fund; consequently there are no extra charges; and the net profits, after payment of interest on subscriptions in advance, and on completed shares, are annually divided amongst the holders of uncompleted shares. In this way, last year the National divided £3,161 19s. 3d., and the directors credited each unadvanced share with a profit at the rate of £10 16s. 8d. per cent. per annum. We only add, as a still further explanation of the societies in general, that they are all conducted on the most perfectly democratic principles. Vote by ballot and universal suffrage



are the rule with them. The members elect their own officers. In all the societies, also, provision is made for casualties, such as sickness or death. In case of death, the subscriber's widow or heirs take his place. If he be unable, from sickness or poverty, to continue his subscription, he is not fined, but is allowed to wait for better times. If he wishes his money back, he can have it returned, with a slight reduction for the working expenses of the society. Juniors may be members. Actually these societies so far practically admit woman's rights as to offer to the ladies the same desirable investments they offer to the sterner sex. In short, the freehold land movement appeals to all ranks and conditions of the community. It may be said of a Freehold Land Society, what has often been said of the London Tavern, that it is open to all—who can pay. Primarily the movement was political, and was established for the purpose of giving the people of this country the political power which they at present lack. Originally, the forty-shilling freehold was established to put down universal suffrage. As a part and parcel of the British constitution, it has been religiously preserved to the present time, and threatens to be an excellent substitute for what it was originally intended to destroy. During the anti-corn-law agitation, Mr. Cobden had put the free-traders up to the idea of purchasing forty-shilling freeholds; but it was reserved to Mr. James Taylor, of Birmingham, to give to the idea of Mr. Cobden a universality of which the latter never dreamed. Mr. Taylor had been a purchaser of land more than once, and with the purchase he got an abstract, a legal document, which, when he came to understand it, showed him that he had paid to the vendor much more than it cost him. The idea then struck him, that as the wholesale price of land was much greater than the retail, if the working-men could be got to subscribe together a large sum for the purchase of land, they could thus have, at a wholesale price, a stake in the country and a vote; and when the general election came, and excitement was created, Mr. Taylor felt that the time for action had arrived. Accordingly, when he went to tender his vote, he said to a friend who accompanied him, "Here's a lot of fellows; and all that they can do is to grin and yawn when I go in to poll; I have a strong notion that I can get them into the booth." This friend said, "How?" The answer was, "Meet me to night in the Temperance Hotel." That same evening Mr. Taylor and his friend drew up an advertisement, stating, that "it is expedient that a Freehold Land Society be formed for the purpose of obtaining freehold property at a most reasonable cost to, and to get county votes for, the working-men." Simultaneously with the advertisement in the local paper appeared a leader from the editor, recognising the immense importance of the movement thus commenced. Thus pledged to go on, Mr. Taylor threw his heart and soul into the cause. Within a week a committee was formed, and the support of the principal men in the town secured. December, 1849, is the legal date of the freehold land movement, although the Birmingham society had been in existence nearly two years previous. In that month the rules of the society were certified, and the glorious idea of Mr. Taylor had a legal habitation and a name. At the end of the first year, the Birmingham society reported that it had established six independent societies, in which more than 2,000 members had subscribed for 3,000 shares; that in Birmingham alone the subscriptions amounted to £500 per month, and that it had already given allotments to nearly 200 of its members. Before the termination of the second year, a great conference was held in Birmingham, in order to organise a plan of general union and co-operation amongst the various societies. Delegates from all parts of the country were present. In Birmingham, it appeared, £13,000 had been subscribed, and four estates purchased, 2,500 shares being taken up by 1,800 subscribers. Wolverhampton, Leicester, Stourbridge, had all co-operated zealously in the movement. Nor was the metropolis behind. The National had started with 750 members, subscribing for 1,500 shares, and already had £1,900 paid up. In Marylebone, 800 shares had been taken since the previous July. This conference was attended by Messrs. Cobden, Bright, G. Thompson, Scholefield, Bass, and Sir Joshua



Walsley. The conference, of course, attracted the notice of the press. The coldly critical *Spectator* termed it a "middle-class movement." *Tait* so far forgot himself as to characterise it as "political swindling." The *Times* said the working classes were being deluded by it. For once the *Standard* agreed with the *Times*, and said ditto. However, the conference did its work, and started the *Freeholder*, which appeared on the 1st of January, 1850. A second conference was held at Birmingham in November, 1850. The report, as usual, was encouraging. Eighty societies, many of them with branches, were reported as existing. The number of members was 30,000, subscribing for 40,000 shares. The amount of paid-up contributions was £170,000. A third conference was held in London in November, 1851. The report then stated there were 100 societies, with 45,000 members, subscribing for 65,000 shares: 150 estates had been purchased; 12,000 allotments made; £400,000 had actually been received; and £2,000,000 sterling was being subscribed for. At the fourth conference, held in 1852, it appeared still greater progress had been made: 130 societies, with 85,000 members, subscribing for 120,000 shares, were in existence; 310 estates had been purchased; 19,500 allotments had been made; and £790,000 had been received. Estimating the shares at the average of £30 per share, the total amount subscribed for was £3,600,000. Such, then, is the movement at the present time. It has been obscured by no cloud. Its progress has been unchecked. No disappointment has retarded its onward way. Forward to victory has been its march. All classes and sects have rallied round it. For churchmen there exists a Church of England Society. The Conservatives have formed a large and flourishing society for the manufacture of Conservative votes. The movement, sneered at, derided, misrepresented, declared unconstitutional, a swindle like a celebrated land scheme popular with the Chartists, has now come to be admitted by all as the greatest fact of the age: to aid it, grave and reverend churchmen, statesmen of all shades of political opinions, combine; even coronetted lords now rejoice to lend it their sanction, and the weight of their illustrious names. Truly the mustard-seed has branched out into a giant oak. A little leaven has leavened the whole lump.

We must tell our readers something of the founder of this movement. James Taylor, junior, of Birmingham, deserves a passing notice at our hands. He was born in that town in 1814, and is consequently now in his fifty-second year; having achieved a popularity such as few men have enjoyed. His father, as a tradesman of the same town, acquired a limited competency by his honest industry; and there, we believe, his business is still carried on for the benefit of the younger branches of his family. Like all other Birmingham boys James was put to work at an early age, and became an apprentice in one of the fancy trades for which Birmingham is so well known. There his industrious habits soon acquired for him the approbation of his master, who gave Taylor his indentures, in consequence of his retiring from business before the latter was of age. About this time, Taylor, earning good wages, and not having the fear of Malthus before his eyes, got married, and lived happily till troubles came, and the demon of strong drink cast its fatal spell upon his domestic hearth. After years of utter misery and degradation, Taylor, in a happy hour for himself and society, signed the temperance pledge, and became a new man; and to the pledge, fortunately, he remained faithful, in spite of ridicule and reproach from the boon companions with whom he had thoughtlessly squandered so much of happiness, and health, and money, and time. No temptation ever led him back. Nor was he satisfied with his own reform alone. He was anxious that others should be rescued from degradation as he had already been. For this purpose he identified himself with the temperance cause, and was honorary secretary to the Birmingham Temperance Society, till he became the apostle of the freehold land movement. Since then his life and labours have become public. No man has worked harder than Mr. Taylor. Our readers would be astonished if they knew the number of miles Mr. Taylor travelled, and of public meetings he attended, in the course of the year, connected with the move-



ment: sometimes the exertion has been too great, and his health gave way for a time. Those who have heard him once will never forget him. Those who have not heard him (if such there be), have indeed a treat in store. With but few or no adventitious aids—without even “little Latin, and less Greek”—an unassuming, plain working-man;—in spite of all this, so fascinating is his unadorned eloquence, that no one can listen to him without admiring his earnestness and moral worth—without feeling that England has no worthier son than the originator of the freehold land movement—without feeling that time alone can tell what he has done for the political, and social, and moral emancipation of her toiling race. We may also add here, that Mr. Taylor has been at times a contributor to the press, as well as a platform orator; that he has been twice married; that he resides at Temperance Cottage, Birmingham, in the enjoyment of a domestic felicity which we trust will attend him to a green old age. It may be said of Taylor what has been said of many infinitely less useful men, that—

“He is a man, take him for all in all,  
We ne’er shall look upon his like again.”

This feeling has become common wherever Mr. Taylor has been known. From far and near have reached him testimonials of respect and esteem. At an early stage of its existence, the Wolverhampton society acknowledged its sense of Mr. Taylor’s services by presenting him with a valuable gold watch; and at the last annual conference of the friends of the movement, held in December, 1852, it was unanimously resolved, that “as it appeared that various sums of money have been, from time to time, subscribed with a view of offering some suitable recognition of the valuable and disinterested services of Mr. James Taylor, it is desirable that a committee be appointed to suggest the most suitable testimonial to that gentleman, and to take such steps as may seem to them most desirable in furtherance of the object.” In pursuance of this resolution, a committee was formed to receive subscriptions, of which Mr. Scholefield, M.P. for Birmingham, is treasurer. This committee consisted of most of the gentlemen connected with the London societies.

Having thus considered the nature of Freehold Land Societies, we propose to look at them in a pecuniary point of view. They form an admirable investment for the working classes. This, of course, is the principal consideration. By their merits as investments alone must Freehold Land Societies stand or fall. If they pay, they will flourish; if they do not, they cannot exist, whatever may be the social, and moral, and political arguments advanced in their favour. Now, let us just see what means of investment were within the reach of the working-man. There was the savings-bank—not always safe, as recent examples show, and offering so small a rate of interest as to be but little inducement to the classes to whom it appeals to save. Things are better now, as the government have opened savings-banks of their own. Then there were the benefit societies, which held out such fine promises, which thus have won a support to which they have no claim, and have excited hopes which they can never realise. Of 2,000 of these societies, the accounts of which were submitted to one gentleman in Liverpool a few years ago, *all* were insolvent. Much of the money belonging to them is wasted in drink, in foolish show and mummery: but the societies are based upon wrong principles, and can never become right. Two radical defects taint them all—the contributions have been much too small in proportion to the proposed benefits; and an almost indiscriminate regard to diversities in age has caused persons, differing as widely as from eighteen to thirty-five, forty, forty-five, and even fifty years of age, to be admitted upon equal, or nearly equal, terms. One of the chief of these friendly societies is that known as the Manchester Unity. In 1848 there was an inquiry into the subject before the House of Lords, when it was stated by Mr. Neison, the eminent actuary, “that it would take *three millions of money* to bring the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows out of their present difficulties; and if they went on at their present rates of contribution, no less than *ten millions*



would be required to fulfil all their engagements." So much for friendly societies, which are, indeed, a delusion and a snare, and have always failed when the hour of trial has come. What the savings-banks are we have already seen; yet, actually, till the freehold land movement originated, these were the only investments within the reach of the working-man. A select committee of the House of Commons has twice reported, "that the great change in the social position of multitudes, arising from the growth of large towns and crowded districts, renders it more necessary that corresponding changes in the law should take place, both to improve their condition and contentment, and to give additional facilities to investments of the capital which their industry and enterprise are constantly creating and augmenting;" and "that they doubt not ultimate benefit will ensue from any measures which the legislature may be enabled to devise for simplifying the operation of the law, and unfettering the energies of trade." But at that time nothing was done, and the laws of partnership fettered the working-man who would usefully employ what little capital he had. Clearly, then, the freehold land movement offered him an eligible means of investment. Land cannot run away. So long as England exists, it will always be worth its price. Nay, it will become more valuable every year, for by no effort of human ingenuity can it be decreased.

At Birmingham, several of the allotments have realised premiums as high as £20 or £30. On the East Mousley estate of the Westminster society, allotments costing £23 have been let at a chief rent of £3 and £3 10s. per annum. The Ross society, in one of its annual reports, stated, that out of thirty allotments made by the society during the past year, ten exchanged hands at premiums varying from £3 10s. to £5; and ten working-men each received £10 premium. At Ledbury, several allotments costing £25 each, had realised premiums of £15 each. On the Stoke Newington estate, belonging to the National, premiums of £30, and even of £40, have been realised. At the Gospel Oak estate, belonging to the St. Pancras society, allotments which cost £20 each, have been let off on building leases of 50s. per annum each. Greater sums have been made. We have inspected returns from 120 societies, and in every case the allotments have realised a handsome premium; and while writing this history, we have seen, in our neighbourhood, a plot of ground sold for £250, which cost the owner, when he purchased it of the society to which it belonged, £45. An attempt was made by Dr. Beggs to introduce the movement into Scotland; but we do not know whether it succeeded there or not. Now that the laws of partnership have been altered; now that limited liability companies have been permitted; now that the friendly societies have been revised and reformed; now that the co-operative system is better understood, the Freehold Land Societies are but one of many favourable forms of investment, of which operatives gladly avail themselves, and of which we see the fruits in their greater intelligence and respectability. The money-power of the working classes is much larger than we are in the habit of thinking. It appears from an elaborate return, prepared by Mr. Leone Levi, in conjunction with Mr. Bass, M.P., that there are 10,697,000 working people in the United Kingdom between twenty and sixty years of age, and that their total earnings amount to £418,300,000 per annum, distributed as follows:—England, £311,500,000; Scotland, £42,700,000; Ireland, £64,100,000. This gives an average weekly income of 22s. 6d. in England, 20s. 6d. in Scotland, and 14s. 4d. in Ireland.

In foreign affairs not immediately connected with our rule, the chief events, about this time, were the birth of the prince imperial, and the coronation of the czar.

In 1853, the French emperor had married, and, to the wonder of Europe, out of a royal family. The lady of his choice was Eugénie, the daughter of Donna Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick, of Closeburn, Countess-Dowager de Montijos. The father of this lady had been English consul at Malaga at the period of her marriage with the Count de Montijos, an officer in the Spanish army, who was connected, more or less closely, with the houses of the Duke de Frias (representative of the ancient admirals of Castile), and others of the highest rank, including



the descendants of the kings of Anjou. The death of the count left the countess a widow, with two daughters, one of whom married the Duke of Alba and Berwick, literally descended from Miss Churchill and James II. For Eugénie, the second, a higher fate was in store. After a residence in London, where, according to Viscount Combermere, her beauty was noted in the circle of the upper ten thousand, she, accompanied by her mother, paid a lengthened visit to Paris, and was distinguished at the various entertainments given at the Tuileries, by the dignity and elegance of her demeanour, and by her great personal beauty—of the English rather than of the Spanish type. Her mental gifts were proportionably attractive; for she is reported to be naturally *spirituelle*; and her education, partly conducted in England, was superior to that generally bestowed on Spanish ladies. Shortly after the opposition of the other northern powers had put an end to the idea of the union between the Emperor Louis Napoleon and the Princess Caroline Wasa, of Sweden, he apprised the council of ministers of his intended marriage with the daughter of the Countess Montijos—a measure which excited some displeasure among them, and even led to their temporary withdrawal from office.

The emperor, publicly, in a formal address read at the Tuileries to deputations from the senate, the legislative corps, and the council of state, declared the step he was about to take in language which touched the heart of France. He proudly stated that his marriage was not in accordance with the traditions of ancient policy. "It is not forgotten, that for the last seventy years, foreign princesses have ascended the steps of the throne only to behold their offspring dispersed and proscribed by war or revolution. One woman only appeared to bring with her good fortune, and to live longer than the others in the memory of the people: and that woman, the good and modest wife of General Bonaparte, was not the issue of a royal family." Of his future empress he thus spoke:—"She who has become the object of my preference is of high birth. French in heart, by education, and by the remembrance of the blood which her father shed for the cause of the empire, she has, as a Spaniard, the advantage of not having in France any family to whom she would wish to give honours and dignities. Gifted with every mental quality, she will be the ornament of the throne, as, in the hour of danger, she would become one of its most courageous supports. A pious Catholic, she will address to Heaven the same prayers as myself for the happiness of France. Gracious and good, she will exhibit, I firmly hope, in the same position, the virtues of the Empress Josephine."

At noon on the 29th of January, the marriage was celebrated at Nôtre-Dame, and the emperor and empress, after making their appearance to the multitude, retired to the solitude of St. Cloud. Everything was, of course, conducted on the most gorgeous scale. On point d'Alençon lace alone, 4,600 francs were expended. No mark of honour was withheld from the imperial bride. The dotation asked for, of 130,000 francs per annum, was freely accorded; and the municipal council of Paris voted 600,000 francs for the purchase of a *parure* of diamonds, as a present from the city to the empress. Instead of accepting it for herself, however, she declined the rich gift; alleging that the city was already overburdened, and praying that the sum in question might be employed in the foundation of some charitable institute for the poor and destitute. In accordance with this suggestion, the money was devoted to an establishment for the maintenance and education of sixty young girls, chosen from the working classes of Paris. In works of charity and piety, the empress has ever since greatly distinguished herself.

In September, 1856, the coronation of the czar took place. It was celebrated at Moscow with unparalleled magnificence; indeed, it was reported to have cost the government no less than £1,000,000 sterling. The Count de Morny represented the French, and Lord Granville the English Courts. The coronation festivities were prolonged for a whole month; and Alexander, moreover, distinguished the occasion by an act of grace, which bestowed many acceptable boons



upon his people. It conferred a commemorative medal upon such of his subjects, either military or civil, as took part in the events of the late war. It released the whole of Russia from the burden of military conscription for four years. It directed the minister of finance to obtain a new census of the population of the empire, with the object of a more equitable assessment of the capitation-tax. All arrears of taxes were remitted. All criminals whose conduct had been irreproachable since their condemnation, were either pardoned, or received a considerable commutation of their punishment. Of political prisoners, many were pardoned; while the lot of others was much alleviated. The Jewish subjects of the emperor, also, were relieved from the special burdens hitherto imposed upon them.

France and England addressed, at this time, a remonstrance to the King of Naples on the sad state of his dominions, in consequence of his vindictive and arbitrary government. The poor infatuated monarch rejected the warning voice; and England and France, to show their displeasure, recalled their legations from Naples. This step was taken at the end of October, and a French squadron held itself in readiness at Toulon; while a British squadron, at Malta, prepared to appear off Naples, if the withdrawal of official protection threatened the least danger to the subjects of either France or England, resident in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. At this step the Russian government professed to be much annoyed.

We also managed to have a little war with Persia. Herat, as we have already implied, is a position of vast importance, and has always been so considered by Indian authorities. The Persians were always desirous to possess it; and, at length, it surrendered to them in 1856, and the Governor-general of India immediately declared war. Four British men-of-war appeared off Bushire—a town on the east side of the Persian Gulf, and the great emporium of the Indian trade. After a cannonade, under the command of Sir Henry Leeke, the town surrendered. How severe was the defence is manifest when we state that not a single casualty to life or limb, on our side, occurred. Our troops suffered, however, from the climate, and were not sorry to receive Sir James Outram with reinforcements. In February, 1857, they attacked the Persian camp. In a day or two after they fought the battle of Khooshab, where, with a loss of ten men killed, and sixty-two wounded, they defeated the Persians, with a loss of 700 slain, 100 prisoners, and a couple of guns. On the 19th of March, Sir James Outram sailed from Bushire, and captured Mohammerah, at the mouth of the Euphrates. A tragical event occurred in connection with this expedition. General Stalker, who remained in command of the force left at Bushire, and Commodore Etheredge, of the navy, terminated their existence, in consequence, it is said, of continued anxiety in connection with the duties of their command, acting upon nervous systems shattered by the heat of the climate.

Before this, however, a treaty of peace had been concluded at Paris, between Persia and Great Britain. This document was dated March 15th, and consisted of fifteen articles. The principal provisions were—the evacuation of the Persian territory by the British troops; the withdrawal of the Persian military from Herat, and every other part of Afghanistan, within three months of the date of the ratification of the treaty; the relinquishment by the shah of all claims to sovereignty over Herat, and the countries of Afghanistan. In the event of any difference between the shah and his neighbours, recourse was first to be had to British arbitration before there was an appeal to arms. Should there be any violation of the Persian territory by the states referred to, the shah might undertake military operations for the repression or punishment of the offenders; but the forces were to retire within their own territory as soon as the object was accomplished, and not permanently to occupy or annex to the Persian dominions any portion of the said states. The consuls, agents, subjects, and commerce of England and Persia, were to be mutually received in each country, on the footing of the most favoured nation. The British mission was to return to Teheran, where it



was to be received by the Persian government with apologies and ceremonies. A commission, on each side, was to be appointed to decide on the pecuniary claims of British and other subjects; and the amount of such claims as were pronounced just, were to be paid within one year from the date of the award. The agreement for the suppression of the slave-trade, which would have expired in August, 1852, was to be continued for the further space of ten years from that date, and afterwards, until formally annulled.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### THE CHINESE WAR.

IN 1857, the speech from the throne announced that we were at war with China.

How did it arise?

In this way. By the supplementary treaty of 1843, it was provided that criminals from China escaping to Hong-Kong, or to British ships of war, and British criminals escaping into Chinese territory, should be given up to the proper British or Chinese authorities. Furthermore, it was agreed, that "every British schooner, cutter, or lorch, shall have a sailing-letter, or register, in Chinese and English, under the seal and signature of the chief superintendent of trade, describing her appearance, burden, &c. Every schooner, lorch, and similar vessel, shall report herself, as large vessels are required to do, at the Bocca Tigris; and when she carries cargo, she shall also report herself at Whampoa, and shall, on reaching Canton, deliver up her sailing-letter or register to the British consul, who will obtain permission from the hoppo for her to discharge her cargo." In March, 1855, a colonial ordinance was passed by the local government at Hong-Kong, which enacted that no ship or vessel whatsoever, owned by a British subject, should be at liberty to trade in any of the harbours of the colony, unless, in the case of an outward trading-ship or vessel, she be provided with a certificate of registry; and, in the case of a trading Chinese ship, similar compliance was required. By this ordinance the colonial legislature took upon itself to grant registers to vessels, provided they were owned by British subjects. But this was not in conformity with English law; for that law required other conditions besides that of British ownership (such, for instance, as that a certain number of the crew should be British subjects), as preliminary to the right of obtaining a register. Moreover, the ordinance had not been confirmed by any competent authority in this country; nor could it confer upon a Chinese vessel the rights and privileges of a British ship.

A lorch, or vessel built after the Portuguese fashion, furnished with a colonial register, had, under the name of the *Arrow*, been for some time trading in the Chinese waters, under the protection of the British flag. Her master was a British subject, but the rest of her crew were Chinese. The register was renewable annually, and had been renewed on the 27th of September, 1855. Her licence, therefore, expired on the 27th of September in the following year; and, after that year, she ceased to have any privilege which the colonial register could confer. The Chinese authorities at Canton had received information that one of the crew on board the *Arrow* was a native pirate, who had been actively engaged in a pirate fleet which had come into collision with a Chinese vessel of war. Accordingly, on the 8th of October, during the absence of the master of the *Arrow*, it was boarded by a body of Chinese officers, and twelve of the crew seized, pinioned, and carried off, notwithstanding that the British colours were flying over the *Arrow* at the time.



Mr. Parkes, the British consul at Canton, on hearing of this outrage to the national flag, demanded that the men who had been seized in the *Arrow* should be brought to the consulate, that the charge against them might be there investigated. This the Chinese officers refused, on the ground that, as they had reported the matter to their own authorities, they must wait for orders from them. The consul then wrote to the same effect to Commissioner Yeh, the governor of Canton; and at the same time sent an account of the proceeding to Sir John Bowring, the British plenipotentiary at Hong-Kong. In his reply, he observed that, though it appeared the *Arrow* had no right to hoist the British flag, in consequence of the expiration of the licence, yet, as the Chinese had no knowledge of this fact, it was clear they had violated the clause in the treaty, which required that all Chinese wrongdoers in British ships should be claimed through British authorities. He added—"You will inform the imperial commissioner that I require an apology for what has taken place, and an assurance that the British flag shall, in future, be respected; that forty-eight hours are allowed for this communication; which being passed, you are instructed to call on the naval authorities to assist you in enforcing redress."

Commissioner Yeh, in reply to Mr. Parkes, stated that it had been ascertained that the lorch was not the property of a foreigner (*i.e.*, British subject); that no foreigner was seen on board; nor was any flag hoisted at the time of the capture. He stated that care should be taken with respect to the seizure of people belonging to foreign lorchas; but declined to make any reparation for the insult to the British flag.

A wise diplomatist here would have waived somewhat of his pretensions, in order to preserve peace. Sir John Bowring, however, determined to resort to force, and applied to Sir Michael Seymour, the commander-in-chief of the British fleet on the China station. A Chinese junk was seized, and brought down to Whampoa; but this retaliatory proceeding produced no effect on the Chinese. Admiral Seymour, therefore, took a number of forts that defended the approaches to Canton, and burnt several of the buildings. Amongst the former was Dutch Folly, a fort mounting fifty guns, and situated on an island opposite Canton. The defences of the city being then in the hands of the British, an attempt was made to arrange matters amicably before further hostilities were resorted to. Commissioner Yeh offered to surrender ten out of the twelve men who had been seized; but this was declined. He then sent the twelve; but demanded that two of them, who were charged with being guilty of piracy, should be at once returned, to be dealt with according to Chinese law. As Mr. Parkes, however, had, in his original demand, required that the men should be sent back to the *Arrow* as publicly as they had been taken, and no apology was tendered by Commissioner Yeh, he refused to receive them, and the men were again taken away by the Chinese.

And now the quarrel was widened, and the last chance of a peaceful settlement was thrown away.

Sir John Bowring directed Mr. Parkes to write to the Chinese high commissioner, and to require for all foreign representatives the same free access to the authorities and city of Canton, as was enjoined by treaty at the four other ports, and denied at Canton alone. This claim was put forward in consequence of a stipulation to that effect in the convention of 1842. Up to this time the claim had been evaded; and the British government, anxious to avoid any cause for an unfriendly feeling, had quietly acquiesced in this evasion, and enjoined upon the authorities at Hong-Kong the greatest circumspection in attempting to secure its fulfilment. Sir John Bowring took a different view of the subject, and thought that a favourable opportunity offered for compelling the Chinese to yield the point. As, to this demand, the Chinese made no reply, on the 27th of October Admiral Seymour opened fire on some government buildings in Canton, and at the same time shelled a body of Chinese troops, who had taken up their position on some rising ground in the rear of the city.



Commissioner Yeh retaliated by offering a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman. The latter went on firing. On the 29th, a breach having been effected in the walls, a body of seamen and marines entered the city. At sunset the attacking force was withdrawn, with a slight loss of life, and re-embarked. The admiral next proposed to Commissioner Yeh a personal interview, in order to effect a pacific arrangement. This having been declined, on the 3rd of November the attack on Canton was renewed; but our fire was confined, as much as possible, to the destruction of government buildings and property. On the 5th, our fleet destroyed a body of war-junks, and captured French Folly Fort, beneath which the Chinese vessels had sought protection.

On the 13th, the whole of the Bogue Forts were taken, with hardly a casualty on the side of the assailants. The Chinese revenged themselves by setting fire to, and almost entirely destroying, the foreign factories close to Canton. Admiral Seymour had now placed himself in a defensive position, and waited for reinforcements.

Parliament met in February; and the Earl of Derby moved resolutions regretting the occurrence of hostilities between her majesty's subjects and the Chinese authorities at Canton; regretting the course pursued with reference to claiming the admission of British subjects into Canton, and declaring that no hostile operations should have taken place without the sanction of the home government. Lord Derby had the advantage of being out of office. Had he been in, he would have had to do as Lord Palmerston did, and upheld the honour of the British flag; for at this stage of the proceedings it was too late to retract. As it was, he pleaded in vain in the Lords. After a debate, lasting two nights, there was a majority of thirty-six in favour of government.

In the House of Commons it was different. On the 26th, Mr. Cobden moved—"That this House has heard, with concern, of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton river; and without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton, in the late affair of the *Arrow*; and that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China." In support of this motion, Mr. Cobden contended, that it was a violation of all international law for the English to attempt to assume a protection over Chinese subjects, against the Chinese government. The lorch was a Chinese vessel, belonging to a Chinese owner, and we had no right to let them possess a protection under the British flag. But supposing that we did possess this right, it could not create a cause of war in the case of the *Arrow*; for the licence had expired before the Chinese authorities had boarded her for the purpose of seizing men, who had violated, not only the laws of their country, but of humanity. He referred to the manner in which smugglers availed themselves of the illegitimate use of the British flag, for the purpose of obtaining protection against the Chinese authorities during the day, while they carried on their illicit traffic by night, under their own flag; and, to the disgrace of this country, the English authorities never attempted to put a stop to these disreputable proceedings. Without going too definitely into what we had actually done, he said he contented himself with inquiring—Would we have done what we had, had the government we dealt with been at Washington, and the transaction had taken place at Charleston? He conscientiously believed that there had been a preconceived design to pick a quarrel with the Chinese, for which the whole world would cry, "Shame upon us." The papers he looked upon as a garbled record of trumpety complaints against the Chinese. He quoted extracts from travellers, testifying to the civility and inoffensive habits of the Chinese; and reminded his auditors of the haughty demeanour and inflexible bearing towards the natives of other countries, which



Englishmen carried abroad with them. As for the clause in the treaty enforcing the admission of Englishmen into Canton, he expressed his opinion that it was a chimera. It was not worth fighting for. If this part of the treaty could be at once enforced, it would be of no use to us. He also specially blamed the conduct of Sir John Bowring, alleging that he had acted directly contrary to his instructions. The debate lasted four nights. The Tories and the Peelites united with the Radicals in support of the motion. Among the speakers adverse to the government, were Sir Bulwer Lytton, Messrs. Warren and Whiteside, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, Dr. Phillimore, Sir Frederick Thesiger, Sidney Herbert, Roundale Palmer, Mr. Henley, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli. In a word, the whole character and oratorical power of the House, save what was possessed by ministerialist office-holders, ranged themselves under Cobden's leadership. To such a phalanx, undauntedly, Lord Palmerston replied; and proceeded to defend the conduct of Sir J. Bowring, comparing him with Commissioner Yeh, the governor of Hong-Kong, whom he described as one of the most savage barbarians that ever disgraced a savage nation—a creature guilty of vices that are a disgrace to human nature. Lord Palmerston characterised the speech of Mr. Cobden as being pervaded by an anti-English feeling. It was an abnegation of all those ties which bind men to their country. Everything that was English was wrong: everything hostile to England was right. The British merchants were described as a set of haughty, overbearing, selfish, irritable, grasping men, perpetually getting into local disturbances wherever they were stationed. He should not go into the legal argument as to whether the vessel was English or not. This fact did not lie at the base of the question. We had a treaty with the Chinese, stipulating that British vessels should not be boarded without a previous application to the British consul. And the question was—What did the Chinese know, or believe, as to the nationality of the *Arrow*? Did they consider her a British vessel? He said they did; and if they knowingly violated the treaty, it was immaterial whether, according to the technicalities of the law, the register had expired. It was the *animus* of the result—the wilful violation of the treaty—that entitled us to demand reparation of the Chinese authorities for the wrong, and an assurance for further security. He, however, thought that the vessel was entitled to the British flag, and that the objections to the register were mere quibbles. He insisted that, after the refusal of reparation—only one of many violations of treaty-right by the Chinese—hostilities were amply justified; and that our proceedings were marked by extreme forbearance, compared with those of the Americans when their flag was insulted. The outrage committed upon the *lorcha*, therefore, was only part of a deliberative system, on the part of the Chinese officials, to wrest from us a right essential to commerce in those waters. The barbarities of the local authorities of Canton, the beheading of 70,000 men in less than a year by the commissioner, and the deformities of Chinese society, were strongly urged by Lord Palmerston, who complained that there had been, in the debate, a disposition to excuse or palliate these enormities. It had been said that reprisals should have been resorted to; and so they were, but without effect. The execution of ulterior operations rested with Admiral Seymour, who, if of opinion that they were excessive, would not have permitted them. We were not at war with China: by the last account the quarrel was still only local. To the question, What the future policy of the government would be?—he replied that this would depend, in a great measure, upon the course of events. Their first duty would be to protect British subjects in China. What, he asked, was the government expected to do? To send out a message to Commissioner Yeh that he was right, and that he might repeat his outrages upon other British vessels? This would be withdrawing from the British community protection against a merciless barbarian; it would disgrace this country in the eyes of the civilised world, and especially in the estimation of Eastern nations. After attributing the motion to a coalition of the enemies of the government, thus seeking to destroy it, Lord Palmerston continued—"You would



think, sir, if you read the speeches of those advocates of every quibble, and who endeavour to make excuses for the most atrocious crimes—who take part with every foreigner against every Englishman, and who almost repudiate their country—that these events were a combination of unjustifiable circumstances. You have now to determine a question of great importance, from which great and important issues may accrue. You have not merely the interests of your country, not merely the property of your countrymen to protect, but I will venture to say that you have the lives of your countrymen to defend; and those who are averse to the laws which defend that property and those lives, will pause before they give a vote which may be passing sentence of death on many of their countrymen. I do trust that honourable members will not allow themselves to be led astray by the eloquence of some gentlemen who have taken part in the debate; but, looking to the matter as bearing upon the great interests of the country, I am satisfied that impartial men will prove that the decision of this night will be such as to maintain the known dignity and greatness of this empire.” His lordship concluded amidst loud cheers; but his anticipations were not fulfilled. The numbers were—for the motion, 263; against it, 247. Ministers were beaten by a majority of sixteen.

Lord Palmerston could either dissolve or resign. He, very wisely, chose the former alternative. Before the dissolution, certain matters, relative to the business of the country, chiefly of a financial character, were attended to. On the 10th of March, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the Speaker, resigned his office, after having held it nearly eighteen years. On the following day, Lord Palmerston moved that the thanks of the House be given to the honourable gentleman, who had ever discharged his important and onerous duties with ability, justness of judgment, and firmness of purpose. The motion having been seconded by Mr. Disraeli, was carried with acclamation. A motion that an address to the crown be carried, praying that a special act of royal favour be conferred on Mr. Shaw Lefevre, was also unanimously agreed to. An annuity of £4,000 per annum was subsequently voted, as a retiring pension; and he was called to the House of Lords, under the title of Viscount Eversley, of Hickfield. Nor were these honours undeserved. Nature and art had alike combined to render Mr. Lefevre, in no common degree, qualified for the Speaker's chair.

Parliament was dissolved on the 21st of March, the ceremony being performed by commission. The royal speech was without interest, its object being merely to express “her majesty's intention immediately to dissolve the present parliament, in order to ascertain, in the most constitutional manner, the sense of her people upon the present state of public affairs.”

That sense was Lord Palmerston's sense. His triumph was signal and complete.

His lordship's unqualified approval of the conduct of our authorities in Canton increased his popularity to an immeasurable extent; and a determination to support him existed throughout the country. In his speech at Tiverton, when presenting himself for re-election, he managed just to express the real feeling of the nation. “The outbreak in China,” he said, “was adopted as a question on which to try the strength of parties. But what was that question? Why, unexpectedly by the government at home, independently of any orders from them, and not in consequence of any act of theirs, a collision arose between their officers, civil and naval, and that insolent barbarian Yeh, who unites in his person all the obstinacy, perfidy, and cruelty ever collected in one single man. He began, after long-continued neglect, and violation of treaty engagements, by an outrageous attack upon the British flag. It was the duty of our officers upon the spot to resent it; to demand an apology for the past, and to guarantee us from similar outrages for the future. They were unable to accomplish this, or obtain any concession from the Chinese minister. We have heard a great deal of technical argument about registers, colonial orders, and imperial laws; but the question submitted to parliament was broad and simple. Here was a vessel with the British flag flying, with a British register, and commanded by a British subject, assaulted by a Chinese



force—her crew taken away (with the exception of two men, whom the Chinese authorities, at the request of the commander, left on board to take charge of her); and the only pretence set up for this outrage was, not that any one of these twelve men who formed the crew had committed any offence, but that one old man was the father of a son who, in some other port of China, and not at Canton, was believed to be a pirate. Then there was a quibble raised, and it was said that when they boarded the vessel no British subject was found on her, but the master of the lorch was at breakfast in another ship, not fifty yards off. However, before the Chinese left the *Arrow*, he speedily came on board; and it was specially at his entreaty that two of the twelve men who formed the crew were left in the vessel. It is, therefore, preposterous for the Chinese to say that they did not know it was an English vessel. It had been lying ten or twelve days in the river as a British vessel; and it was distinctly as such that it was boarded, and deprived of its crew. This was a violation of our treaty; and what did our officials do in consequence? They began by reprisals. They took a junk, and the Chinese commissioner snapped his fingers at them, and said, ‘You think you have got a government vessel, but it is only a merchant vessel; and I don’t care a sixpence about it.’ Our officials then proceeded to disarm the forts, but allowing an interval between each successive operation, to afford the commissioner an opportunity of doing that which, in reason and justice, he should have done before. Notwithstanding all that has been said about cruelty, I say that never were the rights of a nation enforced with more forbearance, and absence from unnecessary violence, than they were by Sir Michael Seymour, a man well known for his humanity and moderation, and one utterly incapable of abusing the power with which he was entrusted. Again, we have been told that officers abroad ought not to involve the country in war without distinct orders from the government; and that the government ought not to act without appealing to parliament. But will any one tell me that officers at the other extremity of the globe, when a violent outrage has been committed on the honour of their country, are to remain with their arms folded, till they can send home for orders, and receive instructions? Why, months would elapse between insult and resentment; and the purpose for which redress had been demanded would have been forgotten in the apathy and want of exertion which would have ensued.”

By such speeches Lord Palmerston carried the public with him. In many places, indeed in the majority, the merits of the question were but little discussed. All that was thought of, was to give to Palmerston more power; and he had it. Never were such results obtained by a minister before. All his opponents, or nearly so, were unseated—Cobden, Bright, Milner Gibson, Layard, J. W. Fox, Miall, and not a few of the Peelites of the second grade. Cobden had not again sought the suffrages of his West Riding constituents. He had discovered, in the course of his canvass, that he had no chance of success there. He then solicited the suffrages of the citizens of Huddersfield; but the voters there gave the preference to a thorough-going ministerialist, and Cobden was, for the first time since he entered parliament, without a seat. A beautiful incident occurred during this stormy period of our recent history. While the general election was going on, Bright, who had been compelled by ill-health to leave the country, was still so ill as to be unable to conduct his own canvass at Manchester. Cobden and others discharged that task for him. Shortly after the rejection of Cobden and Bright, the former attended and addressed a meeting at Manchester. In the course of his speech, he alluded to his friend’s defeat, and dwelt upon the fact, that the Manchester men had rejected the man of whom they had been so proud, at a time when he was afflicted, and necessarily absent by reason of ill-health. He became at once deeply affected; he could not go on; his eyes filled with tears, and, for a time, he was reduced to absolute silence.

On the 30th of April, the new House of Commons met; and Mr. Evelyn Denison was elected to the Speaker’s chair, in the place of Mr. Shaw Lefevre. The House was occupied until the 7th of May with swearing-in new members; and



on that day parliament was formally opened by commission. The royal speech contained little of interest beyond the information that her majesty had sent Lord Elgin as plenipotentiary to China, "fully instructed in all matters of difference;" and that he would be supported by an adequate naval and military force in the event of such assistance being necessary.

We now return to China.

While Admiral Seymour was waiting for reinforcements, several attempts were made to burn or blow up our vessels, and the greatest caution was found to be necessary to prevent some such catastrophe. The mandarins, in various districts, issued the most bloodthirsty edicts against the English, and offered large rewards to those who succeeded in assassination and incendiarism at Hong-Kong. All Chinese were ordered to quit the service of foreigners, and return to their homes. The captain and crew of the English postal steamer, on her way from Canton to Hong-Kong, were murdered by seventeen Chinese soldiers, who managed to get on board the vessel in disguise. In Hong-Kong, a Chinese baker was charged with attempting to poison the Europeans by mixing arsenic with his bread. The Chinese at Savarrah, in Borneo, rose in insurrection, and murdered several Europeans; and Rajah Brooke only saved his life by swimming across a creek. But they were speedily punished, as Sir James Brooke returned with one of the Bornean company's steamers, and killed a thousand Chinese; while as many more fled, or, ultimately, died of starvation. The arrival of the *Tribune* and *Amethyst* enabled Admiral Seymour to undertake offensive operations. The Chinese fleet, in Canton river, was destroyed by the British gun-boats in two effective expeditions.

On the 29th of May, Admiral Seymour hoisted his flag on the *Coromandel* steam-tender, and, accompanied by Admiral Keppel and a force of gun-boats, proceeded up the Canton river, with the object of attacking the war-junks, which had, for some time, been visible up the Fatshan Creek. A fort, with outworks, which mounted sixteen guns, was taken; and, after a resistance, more or less severe, between seventy and eighty heavily-armed junks—mounting, on an average, from ten to fourteen guns, many of them 32-pounders, nearly all of European manufacture—fell into our hands.

Lord Elgin, the British plenipotentiary, arrived at Hong-Kong on the 3rd of July. In answer to an address by the British residents, he replied—"The powerful fleet already assembled on these coasts, which will soon be supported by an adequate military force, is a pledge of her majesty's determination to afford protection to her faithful subjects, and to maintain the rights to which they are by treaty entitled. It is essential to the permanence of political relations with China, and to the security of trade, that the Court of Peking should be apprised, that an arrogant refusal to treat with other powers on the terms prescribed by the comity of nations, or the alleged wilfulness of a provincial authority, will not be held to release it from the responsibility of faithfully adhering to engagements contracted with independent and sovereign states. You refer, in language of much force and justice, to the difficulties which beset the mission on which I am entering. I am not insensible to those difficulties. But knowing, as I do, that the government which I serve is pursuing no selfish object; that we may count on the cordial sympathy and active co-operation of other great and generous nations interested with ourselves in the spread of commerce, and the extension of civilisation; knowing, moreover, the valour and discipline of the forces, both military and naval, which, under able and experienced commanders, are prepared, if need be, to support the honour of our country's flag—I see no reason to doubt that, by prudence and patience, moderation and firmness, they may be overcome."

This allusion to other powers reminds us that England invited the co-operation of France, Russia, and America, in order that it might not be considered that she was carrying on a war of conquest.

France sent a small force to co-operate at Canton with that of England; and, on the 12th of December, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros sent in their demands to the



commissioners. They comprised the opening of Canton; compensation for the damage done to the property of British merchants; and the surrender of the island of Honan, as a material guarantee. Yeh sarcastically rejected the terms. On the 16th of December, the ships and gun-boats of the allied forces went up the river, and landed a body of men on the island of Honan. On the 25th, the allied commissioners notified to Yeh that they would grant him forty-eight hours more to deliberate. They extended that period to seventy-two hours; still a sullen silence was preserved; and, as Yeh would not return an answer, the bombardment of Canton was determined on. Early on the 28th, the gun-boats, ships, and batteries opened a slow but heavy fire of shot and shell upon the walls and defences. About noon, a body of troops, mainly English, but partly French, landed on the east side of the city, and captured Lin's Fort. During the night, rockets were fired at the houses near the walls, causing a fierce conflagration, and the destruction of many frail tenements. The next day, the troops stormed, successively, the Five-storied Pagoda, the Magazine Hill Fort, and Gough's Fort. The fighting continued until dark; but, at the close of the second day's operations, the English and French were in possession of the heights. This possession they had purchased with the loss of 140 English killed and wounded, and thirty-four French.

Thinking, as Canton was now at their mercy, Yeh would make some sign of submission, the allies waited before proceeding to further extremities. As he did not do so, three columns of English, and one of French, entered the city on the 5th of January, 1858. One column proceeded to the house of Peh Kwei, the governor of the city, and captured him at breakfast. A second column made for the treasury, of which they took possession. They found in it fifty-two boxes of royal silver, each heavier than a man could lift, and sixty-eight packets of ingots. These were carried by coolies into the British lines. The French column caught the Tartar general hidden in a closet, in a desolate house; while Commodore Elliot, accompanied by Mr. Parkes, went in pursuit of Commissioner Yeh. On finding the house, one man surrendered himself as Yeh; but the attempted deception failed, as he was not fat enough for his chief. Pushing on, the pursuers saw a stout man attempting to scale a wall. Captain Key rushed forward and seized him by the waist, while a sailor twisted the tail of the imperial commissioner round his arm. Yeh trembled violently when he was captured, and, at first, denied his identity. However, when he had been several times assured of his personal safety, his old arrogance returned. Seating himself magnificently in his chair, he said he would wait there to receive the men, Elgin and Gros. This insolent desire was not complied with, and he was taken in a chair to head-quarters. After some conversation, the allied admirals and generals directed Mr. Parkes to assure "his excellency" that every care would be taken for his personal safety and convenience, but that he would be removed on board ship. "I don't see any necessity for going on board ship," replied Yeh; "I can do everything that requires to be done just as well here." But when he observed that the admirals were grave and immovable, and that they were about to retire, he added—"Well, I will accept your invitation. In fact, I shall be very glad to have an opportunity of seeing one of your ships." After many fruitless delays, he was seated in his chair, and, accompanied by an escort of marines, carried down to the landing-place, and sent on board the *Inflexible*. On the 9th of January, Peh Kwei and the Tartar general were reinstated in the city, under the protection of the allied plenipotentiaries, in order to preserve it from being sacked by the populace. British commissioners accompanied them, and Canton was placed under a British protectorate. Lord Elgin informed Peh Kwei that the allies intended to hold Canton until the questions in dispute were settled. He added, that any treachery would meet with signal punishment; but, when all questions were settled, Canton would be given up. Commissioner Yeh was sent to Calcutta.

Matters progressed but slowly. The demand of the allied powers, that a commissioner should be appointed to treat with the ambassadors, was forwarded



to the emperor at Peking; but no answer was returned. The Peiho river was then ascended, and the forts at the mouth of it captured. During these proceedings, the Russian and American ministers abstained from taking any active part; accompanying the allied forces in the character of neutrals. Their communications had been courteously received by the Chinese authorities, and they were disposed to think that the imperial commissioner, Tau, had proper power to treat. The British and French ministers, however, declined opening negotiations until credentials on both sides had been interchanged. This, Tau averred, was contrary to custom; and when he was shown the powers which Keying had interchanged with Sir Hugh Pottinger in 1841, and which Lord Elgin had in his possession, he declared that the British plenipotentiary had been imposed on, for the pretended power was a forgery.

The day after the capture of the forts, the allied expedition, with the ambassadors, proceeded up the river Peiho, as far as the town of Tien-tsin. There the ambassadors landed, and took up their residence in an imperial yaman, or palace, waiting the arrival of the Chinese commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace. At first the interview was not satisfactory. Time went on, and the docility and submission of the natives changed into a sullen demeanour, and even active hostility. About the 12th of June, two naval officers, walking through the city, were hooted and pelted, and one of them lost his hat. A body of marines was sent to make prisoners of the parties implicated; but they found the gates barred, and a mob was collected inside, who could not be persuaded to open them. About half-a-dozen officers and sailors were enabled to climb, through a half-decayed house, into the embrasures, from whence they jumped, revolvers in hand, on to the ground, giving a hearty shout. The chains and bars which secured the gates were immediately broken; the marines entered, and captured some householders, who were known to be present at the outrage offered to the officers. This led to the restoration of the hat; and there were no more insults offered to the British while they remained at Tien-tsin.

At length the negotiations came to a favourable conclusion. Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Chinese government to submit, all difficulties were overcome; and the terms which Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were instructed to insist upon, were at last yielded with a good grace.

The four treaties concluded at Tien-tsin were signed in the following order:—the American, the Russian, the English, and the French. The demands of the United States were the least extensive, extending little beyond increased means of commercial intercourse; and Mr. Reed, the American ambassador, appears to have been content: indeed, it is said that he thwarted, rather than advanced, Lord Elgin's views. Count Putiatine, the Russian ambassador, acted a more friendly part; for when he had concluded his own treaty, he did not desert the interests of England and France. The terms the count obtained were of great importance to Russia, as China conceded not only greater facilities for trade, but also yielded up an extensive tract of country at the mouth of the Amour. The terms of the French and English treaties were nearly alike, except that the former contained no stipulations for an indemnity. The conditions were considered favourable. China was thrown open; Britons were no longer to be called barbarians; commerce was to be encouraged; and we were to receive £1,200,000 for losses sustained at Canton, and the expenses of the war.

No sooner was the treaty signed, however, than it became apparent that in many quarters there was very little intention of keeping it. While in the north the allied ambassadors and the commissioners of the emperor were concluding it, the new commissioner at Canton was issuing proclamations, urging the populace to attack the foreigners. He even demanded the evacuation of the city, and affected entire ignorance of the existence of the negotiations. Confusion and terror were produced within Canton by this proceeding. The "braves" assassinated several Europeans; and, on the 21st of July, they advanced with the avowed intention of expelling the allies from the city. They were, of course, unsuccessful, and the English



and French retaliated with severity. In August, Sir John Bowring issued a proclamation in the Chinese language, announcing the conclusion of the treaty, which was distributed and placarded in the country. Two officers went in the gun-boat *Starling* to distribute this proclamation at Namtom, opposite Hong-Kong. The officers were driven back, and the boat was fired upon, though a flag of truce was flying. As this insult could not be overlooked, a force of 700 men was landed on the 11th, who drove out the Chinese "braves" from the fort which they destroyed, and brought off two brass guns as trophies. No injury was done to the inhabitants, or their property. Shortly after, Hwang, the viceroy, issued a notice that he had received despatches from the Court of Peking, informing him of the cessation of the treaty: but affairs continued for some time in an unsettled and unsatisfactory state.

While waiting for the Chinese negotiators, who were to discuss with him the terms of the tariff, Lord Elgin resolved to proceed to Japan, to see what could be done in the way of opening up that country, so closely sealed against foreign intruders. Arrived at Nayaski, communications were opened with the Japanese authorities. The English government had sent the Tycoon a yacht—a most inappropriate present, as he never leaves his palace—and this had to be presented. For this purpose, to the astonishment and terror of the Japanese, Lord Elgin sailed to the capital, Yeddo, where he landed, and was treated with much courtesy, he having an armed force with him, and it being known what the British had done in China. Six commissioners were appointed to consult with his lordship as to a treaty. On the 26th of August the treaty was signed, and was all that could be desired. His lordship and his followers were delighted with everything they saw, and came back very enthusiastic in favour of Japan and the Japanese.

Lord Elgin arrived at Shanghai, upon his return from Yeddo, on the 2nd of September. The Chinese commissioners appointed to arrange the tariff with his lordship, did not arrive from Peking till the 3rd of October. About the middle of the month, Mr. Oliphant and Mr. Wade, on the part of the British ambassador, and two local officers on the part of the commissioners, were appointed to settle preliminaries. The negotiations extended into November. On the 8th of that month, the new tariff being finally arranged, was signed by Lord Elgin and the commissioners. By this document the export duties on tea and silk remain as before; the only reduction of any importance is on cotton manufactures. Opium was legalised, and the import duty fixed at thirty taels per picul. The transit duties to and from the interior, were fixed at one-half the amount levied at the ports; and this applies to all imports and exports, with the exception of opium, which is not included in this arrangement. It was expected that a great increase of trade would result from this treaty. Even before the signing of it, many of the foreign firms had established branches or agencies in temporary abodes on the island of Honan, and were doing a fair trade. The Hon. Frederick Bruce was appointed first ambassador to Peking, under the provisions of the new treaty. Consuls were also appointed for the Chinese ports which were to be opened under the treaty; and a consul-general for Japan. Mr. Rutherford Alcock, who had long been her majesty's consul at Canton, received the first nomination to this latter important post.

Immediately after the tariff regulations were adjusted, Lord Elgin determined to make an expedition up the Yang-tse-Kiang, as far as Hankow—the limits fixed by the treaty for the advance of merchant vessels—for the purpose of testing its commercial capabilities, and of ascertaining the temper of the people. He left Shanghai on the 9th. On the 20th, Nankin—then in possession of the rebels—was sighted, and the little *Lee*, with Mr. Wade, the interpreter, was sent ahead, to see whether the rebels would fire upon her. Lord Elgin was not desirous of coming into collision with the rebels; but it was not known how they felt disposed. The little vessel was, therefore, anxiously watched as she fearlessly passed one battery after another. It was thought she had cleared them all, when a little white puff of smoke was seen. The rebels *had* fired upon her; and the men on board the



other four steamers were instantly piped to quarters. As soon as the first shot was discharged from the shore, the commander of the *Lee*, in obedience to his instructions, hoisted a flag of truce, of such large dimensions that the men in the batteries could not fail to see it. This was fired upon eight times; and the other steamers coming up, fired upon the batteries. This was replied to; and while daylight lasted, a pretty smart cannonade was kept up on both sides. The next morning it was resolved to inflict summary chastisement on the rebels for their temerity; and the ships having taken up their positions, bombarded the forts pretty well for an hour, when they passed on. In ascending the river, the imperialist army was discerned crowning the hills in the rear of Nankin, their encampments forming a complete and extended semicircle round the devoted city, which they had so long and ineffectually besieged, but which active and enterprising commanders, seconded by only moderately brave troops, would have taken long before. The rebels had also possession of Taeping, near which the rebels anchored for the night. At length, on the 6th of December, Hankow, the terminus of their journey, appeared in sight. The first view of the city was anything but pleasing. However, it greatly improved upon acquaintance. Scarcely two years had elapsed since it was sacked and destroyed by the rebels, who did their work so effectually that the British were informed that not a single house remained standing. In the short space of time that had elapsed, however, the greater part of the ruins had given place to the abodes of a persevering and industrious population. The streets were handsomer and broader; and the shops better stocked than those of any city as yet open to Europeans; and it was pervaded by an air of activity and bustle quite refreshing after the torpor and apathy which had succeeded the rebel reign elsewhere. The river was filled with junks, and the streets of the town were crowded with natives from almost every province in the empire. On the 10th, Lord Elgin, accompanied by about thirty diplomatic and naval officers, paid a visit to Kenan, the governor-general of the provinces of Human and Hupeh, whose official residence is at Woonang, a city occupying a noble site on the south shore of the river. On the 11th, the visit was returned; and when the Chinese officials departed for the shore, the squadron weighed anchor, and started on its return. They arrived at Shanghai early in the new year.

On the 17th of January, a numerous body, representing the English and Indian firms at Shanghai, waited on Lord Elgin at the British embassy, by appointment, to present a complimentary address on his lordship's successful career in the north of China. The address was well written; and, in his lordship's reply, there was much to be seriously weighed and carefully remembered. The treaties concluded with China and Japan undoubtedly did impose weighty responsibilities. "Uninvited," said his lordship, "and by methods not always of the gentlest, we have broken down the barriers by which those ancient nations sought to conceal from the world without, the mysteries—perhaps, also, in the case of China at least, the rags and rottenness—of their waning civilisation. Neither our own consciences, nor the judgments of mankind, will therefore acquit us, if, when we are asked to what use we have turned these opportunities, we can only say, that we have filled our pockets from the ruins which we have found or made." There were two critical phases which, in his progress as a negotiator with China, Lord Elgin said he found, "in mid-channel, right ahead"—the trade in opium, and the Chinese custom-house system. He had long, and sincerely, commiserated the false and cruel position in which men of high standing and integrity, engaged in commerce with China, were placed by the irregularities which characterised the administration of the one, and the anomalous condition under which the other was carried on; and he did not consider that the difficulties attending the removal of these evils, and the risk of misconception to which those who undertook the task must necessarily expose themselves, would justify him in abstaining from the attempt to grapple with them. He had legalised the opium traffic by the tariff; but the modifications introduced with reference to the drug, do not, in any way, fetter or restrict



the discretion of Great Britain with respect to the article. If the British people and the British government see fit to do so, they may still make it penal for a British subject to be engaged in the opium trade; and, by so doing, although they will not, probably, in any material degree, lessen the consumption of opium in China, they will, no doubt, do something more or less effectual towards preventing British subjects from being the importers. His lordship said he had induced the Chinese to bring the trade from the region of fiction into that of fact, and to place within the pale of the law, and under its control, an article which was openly sold, and taxed by them beyond that pale. He anticipated, however, that it would make but little difference as regarded the trade itself. As to the custom-house administration, he endeavoured—and, he hoped, not without success—to impress on the imperial commissioners the importance of establishing such a system as will be uniform in all the several open ports, equal in all its operations, and controlled by persons of integrity and competent knowledge. Alluding to his recent expedition up the Yang-tse-Kiang, his lordship said it had fully realised the expectations which induced him to undertake it. He was enabled, during its progress, to obtain much information respecting the political condition of the country, which would, he trusted, be useful to her majesty's government; and the interests of commerce would be undoubtedly promoted by a knowledge of the navigation of the rivers, acquired by the able officers of her majesty, by whom he was accompanied. His lordship's speech gave great satisfaction. Those officers, as well as his lordship, did everything in their power to render the expedition successful; and, in England, there was great rejoicing over the termination of a mission which, it was felt, could not have been placed in better hands. It was henceforth hoped we should have no further difficulties with either Chinese or Japanese. It was believed that an unlimited market was opened to our wares and Manchester manufactures; and London merchants voted Lord Elgin to be of ambassadors the chief.

In a few years after, his lordship died—died just as he had become the Governor-general of India. He was only fifty-two years of age, and had been a member of the House of Peers for upwards of twenty-two years. Lord Elgin may be said to have first entered upon public life in 1841, when he was returned to parliament as member for Southampton; but in a few months he succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, known as the collector of the celebrated "Elgin Marbles." His rare abilities early gave him prominence and distinction in the House of Lords; and on a vacancy occurring, in 1842, in the governorship of Jamaica, his lordship was selected to fill that office. Here his administrative ability was displayed with so much satisfaction, that, in 1846, he was nominated to the still higher post of Governor-general of Canada. In the latter colony he governed in difficult times, but with a wisdom and impartiality that rendered him exceedingly popular; and socially, politically, and commercially, his rule was of the highest benefit to the people. In 1855 he returned to England, honoured and esteemed by all parties. In March, 1857, the earl was sent as plenipotentiary to China. On his way out to the East, he heard of the outbreak of the Indian mutiny, and, by a happy act of sound judgment (which was invited, indeed, by the viceroy), diverted to India a large portion of the troops that were under orders for China, and thus strengthened the hands of Lord Canning. While the mutiny in India proceeded in its course, Lord Elgin was pushing on his own line of policy in China, the results of which he beheld in the taking of Canton, and in the signing of the treaty of Tien-tsin. Returning to England, he became Postmaster-general under Lord Palmerston, in 1859, but was shortly afterwards again despatched to China, to insist on the reception of his brother, Sir Frederick Bruce, at Peking. He also went to Japan, and, under the terror created by our imposing fleet, obtained from the Tycoon a treaty of commerce, which has been very imperfectly carried out, and threatens to involve us in war with that exclusive people. Scarcely had he returned to the shores of England, when he was selected to succeed Earl Canning in that splendid but fatal prize for statesmen's competition, the vice-



royalty of India. He took up the work where Lord Canning's hands had laid it down, and he was just about to behold the first fruits of the harvest which had been sown by his predecessor and Lord Dalhousie, when he was laid prostrate by the stroke of the hand of death.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE INDIAN MUTINY.

IN 1857, the alarming intelligence reached England, that our Indian empire was in peril—that the native army was in a state of mutiny—and that our countrymen and countrywomen were being butchered in all directions.

For some time past the storm had been gathering; but no one of the official class had sense to perceive and interpret the signs of the times.

In the native army, ever since the disastrous occurrences in Afghanistan, in 1840-'41, the feelings of loyalty and attachment that at one time existed had ceased to operate. The charm of our invincibility and good fortune then received a rude shock. It was apparent to our native subjects that we had been forced to abandon our position beyond the Indus; in consequence of the successful resistance of the Afghan nation, supported in their efforts to drive us out by the corps raised, disciplined, and armed by us, from among the people of that country. From that time forward, the idea had been gaining ground in the minds of many of our subjects in India, especially among the Mahommedan portion of them, that a similar course—a mutiny of the native regiments forming our army, backed by a rising among the people—might prove as successful in Hindostan as it had in Cabul, in expelling the British authority, and restoring native rule; that is, the authority of the Emperor of Delhi. "Although," writes Mr. Edwards, in his valuable *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, "in our opinion, the position occupied, for the last thirty years, by the emperor was of the most insignificant and contemptible description, very different was the estimation in which he was held by Hindoos as well as Mahommedans generally. In their eyes he was still the legitimate sovereign of India, and, as such, was looked up to with feelings of reverence and loyal attachment. Our generous, but, in my humble opinion, impolitic treatment of the king, had directly tended to keep alive and foster those feelings of veneration. We permitted him to occupy his palace in the ancient seat of empire, and there to surround himself with the symbols of royalty, and to exercise powers, such as conferring honorary titles on our subjects, which, in native estimation, are indissolubly connected with sovereign authority. Although a pensioner, the king was regarded, by all in India, as the fountain of rank and honour; and the most insignificant marks of his favour were more highly esteemed than the most costly gifts and highest titles which could be conferred by the head of the British government on any of its subjects. Up to the rebellion, the state papers, such as sunnuds issued by subordinate native chieftains, always contained an acknowledgment of their holding as vassals under the King of Delhi; and the coin they issued bore a legend to the same effect. Up to 1842, the governors-general who visited Delhi, were in the habit of presenting, through their secretaries, a nuzzur of 101 gold mohurs to the emperor, as a mark of fealty, and an acknowledgment of holding the British territories in India subject to his authority." In the composition of the army itself, also, there was much to create a feeling of mutiny: the Bengal army believed that the government was afraid of them. They entered that army, as they confessed, from no feelings of patriotism, but to fill their bellies; and they bitterly resented, therefore and regarded as a breach of faith, the stoppage of



higher rates of pay for service beyond the Sutlej, when the Punjaub became a British province. The deprivation of the privilege of having their letters franked since the introduction of the half-ana postage, and of petitioning on unstamped paper since the annexation of Oude, was also regarded by them as a great hardship and indignity. They attributed these changes to a grasping, avaricious spirit on the part of the state, and they often termed it a low government of shopkeepers, whom they were ashamed to serve under. The sepoys were also under the persuasion, that as our government extended its empire to Burmah and China, they would, sooner or later, be required to serve beyond sea. They knew that the government felt that the only obstacle to their proceeding on general service was the dread of the loss of caste; and they regarded the enlistment of the Sikhs into the line regiments, and the new rules for recruiting, as the commencement of an insidious attempt to break up the regimental caste, and fit the corps for foreign service. While our native army was in this state of discontent and restless suspicion, Oude was, to their astonishment and extreme dissatisfaction, annexed. "There is not the slightest doubt," writes Mr. Edwards, "that this act was regarded by the native army as one of rude and unjustifiable spoliation; and I believe that they would have resented at first had they not been under the conviction that the home authorities would annul the decision of the Governor-general, and restore Oude to the king."

While the minds of the sepoys were thus full of resentment against the government, and suspicious of its good faith, the report was spread among them, by the instigators of the rebellion, that the government intended to take away their caste, and compel them forcibly to adopt Christianity; and, for this purpose, had cartridges prepared with pig's fat, to destroy the caste of the Mahommedans; and with cow's fat, that of the Hindoos.

So much for the sepoys. As regards the people, they had also many and serious grounds of complaint.

First, as respects the revenue system, introduced into the North-West Provinces within the last thirty years. It has been generally supposed that this system was one of unmixed good. Mr. Edwards writes—"My acquaintance with the system, during the short time I was collector, has led me to form a different opinion as to its adaptation to the people; and the light in which they regard the basis of the system is, it must be borne in mind, a survey of all lands held under the government, and a record of the government claim accruing therefrom, and of all rights and interests connected therewith. But a record of this description, to be of any value, must be accurate in all its details, completely trustworthy, and beyond suspicion. If it falls short of this it becomes one of the most powerful engines of evil and misgovernment which it is possible to devise. I fear that the revenue records of the North-West Provinces, however correct they may originally have been, have, from constant mutations in occupancy, and corruption of native officials, become a mass of falsehood, inaccuracy, and confusion, and the source of much of that litigation which has made our civil courts the opprobrium of our rule." Again, the assessments were far too heavy in nearly every district, "and could not have been imposed had not the attachment of an agricultural people to their hereditary lands been so great, that they preferred agreeing to pay any amount of revenue for them, rather than desert, or be ousted from them. The result was that the gentry had disappeared, or were in very reduced circumstances; and the mass of the agricultural body were in the most extreme and hopeless poverty. Long before the rebellion, their state of increasing destitution had attracted my notice, and so deeply impressed me, that I had always regarded some great convulsion of society as extremely probable. But I never realised fully the extent of their poverty and wretchedness until, when traversing the country as a fugitive, and having to pass through thousands of villages, hearing of the plunder of those they had attacked, I saw what the plunder consisted of, and for what the people evidently thought it worth risking their lives to steal."



Our civil courts were cumbrous, dilatory, and expensive. Our police, as a body, Mr. Edwards describes, as "most corrupt, and a scourge to the people."

But there was another cause at work, besides the discontent existing in the army and amongst the people.

The Calcutta rulers, seeing through the false medium surrounding them at the presidency, had been lulled into a state of dangerous security; and the result was, that they denuded Bengal and the North-West Provinces, to an extent unprecedented at any former period. In fifteen years our empire in India had been gradually extending, but our European force had not been increased in proportion. The chief part of our forces had been collected into the Punjaub; and, in 1857, the total European force available for the maintenance of tranquillity was not above 5,000 of all arms, for Bengal and the North-West Provinces. The people, besides, had got the idea that we were used up, and that, in consequence of the Crimean war, no more forces could be spared for India. Under such circumstances, that the mutiny should have occurred, and spread rapidly, can surprise no one.

The first actual rising of the native troops took place at Meerut, an important military station, about thirty-two miles from Delhi. On the 9th of May, eighty-five of the men had been arrested, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, for refusing to receive the cartridges. The next evening, while many of the Europeans were at church, the men of the 11th and 20th native regiments assembled, in armed and tumultuous bodies, upon the parade-ground. Several officers hurried from their quarters to endeavour to pacify them. Colonel Finnis, of the 11th, one of the first to arrive, was shot dead while exhorting the mutineers to return to their duties as soldiers, and remain true to their colours. Other officers fell with their colonel, or in the terrible moments that ensued; for the troopers of the 3rd cavalry poured out of their quarters to join the insurgent infantry, and the whole body rushed through the native lines of the encampments, slaying, burning, and destroying. Every house was fired, and every English man, woman, or child, that fell in the way of the mutineers, was cruelly murdered. Happily, most of the officers and their families succeeded in escaping to the English lines. The eighty-five mutineers who had been confined were liberated, and all at once made their way to Delhi, where they were received by the native garrison of that city with open arms.

It fared with the English at Delhi as at Meerut. The infantry attacked and murdered their officers; the artillery, before joining the mutineers, stipulated for the safety of theirs, who were thus enabled to reach Meerut alive. The representative of the Great Mogul lent a favourable ear to the representatives of the mutineers. Pillage and murder ravaged the streets, and no mercy whatever was shown to the Europeans. Delicate ladies were stripped of their clothing, violated, turned naked into the streets, beaten with canes, pelted with filth, and abandoned to the brutality of the blood-stained rabble, until death or madness deprived them of all consciousness of their unutterable misery. The demoniac fury of the excited multitude knew no bounds; and, in a few hours after sunrise on Monday, the 11th of May, the interior of Delhi was an utter pandemonium. The arsenal and magazines were saved from falling into the hands of the mutineers by the gallantry of Lieutenant Willoughby, of the artillery, who blew them both up—an act which caused the death of about 1,500 of the town rabble and insurgents, who were crushed beneath the ruins. The English lost Delhi; and, for a time, the Mogul empire was restored.

The mutiny spread rapidly. There were demonstrations of it at Umballah, Ferozepore, Lahore, Muscerabad, and, in fact, at nearly every station throughout the Bengal presidency. To such an extent was this the case, that one corps, which had been publicly thanked by the Governor-general in person for its loyalty, was obliged to be disarmed; while another regiment of native infantry at Allahabad, which had been loud in its attachment to the government, rose upon its officers and murdered them. Fortunately, the disaffection was confined to the Bengal



army, and did not make its appearance in the troops of Madras or Bombay. Great excitement also prevailed at Calcutta and its neighbourhood. A conspiracy for a general rising on the part of the Mussulman population was discovered, and a regular plan for the capture of the city found among the papers seized.

Delhi, the head-quarters of the rebellion, was one of the first places to be attacked by the British troops. Great difficulties lay in the way of General Anson, the commander-in-chief, destitute, as he was, of men upon whom he could rely. In making preparations for the advance he was attacked by cholera, which terminated fatally. General Sir Harry Barnard was appointed to the command of the army for Delhi; and Sir Patrick Grant was appointed chief commander of the forces in India. After a few skirmishes, General Barnard was compelled to wait for reinforcements.

Of all the fearful tragedies at this time, that of Cawnpore was the chief. The town and military station of Cawnpore was situated on the Ganges, fifty-two miles from Lucknow. On the 16th of May, news of the mutiny reached there. On the 5th of June, after a few preliminary symptoms, the outbreak took place. The native cavalry deserted, and the infantry broke into open revolt, plundered, and then abandoned their lines. The rebels then sent messengers to Nana Sahib, the Rajah or Mahratta chieftain of Bithoor, announcing their determination to march to Delhi, and their desire that he would place himself at their head. He acceded, and shortly after joined them with 600 men and four guns. His first advice was that they should slay all the English in Cawnpore. Nana Sahib then summoned General Wheeler to surrender the intrenched position and town to the King of Delhi: this being refused, the town was attacked, and captured on the 6th of June, and Nana Sahib took up his quarters there. The intrenchments were, however, kept by General Wheeler and the British troops, who held out bravely. On the 27th of June, General Wheeler, who had received a wound which ultimately proved fatal, agreed to surrender the position he occupied, and abandon Cawnpore, with the public treasure, guns, and magazines, on condition that the lives of all Europeans and native converts at the station should be spared, and that they should be at liberty to depart in boats, provided for their conveyance, down the Ganges to Allahabad.

The party embarked in about seventeen or eighteen boats; but no sooner had they done so, than a fire of artillery and musketry was suddenly opened upon them. Many were killed in the boats, and others shot while attempting to escape by swimming. Most of the boats were brought back, and the swimmers compelled to re-land. Having done so, the men were immediately shot, and the women and children—many of whom were bleeding from wounds—were taken to a house formerly belonging to the medical department of the European troops, where they were left for three days without food, with the exception of a small quantity of parched grain and some water.

In the meanwhile, Cawnpore rapidly filled with the rebel troops; so that about the 10th of June, Nana Sahib was at the head of more than 20,000 armed men. He then issued a proclamation, stating that he had entirely conquered the British, whose period of reign had been completed. Measures were, however, speedily taken for the relief of Cawnpore. On the 3rd of July, General Havelock marched against it, and, after defeating the enemy in three battles, gained possession of the town. Nana Sahib retired to Bithoor; but on finding defeat inevitable, he first caused the whole of the women, children, and other Europeans, to be put to death, under circumstances of the most revolting barbarity. The court-yard of the building in which the women and children had been confined, appeared to have been the principal scene of the slaughter. This place, on being entered by our men, was covered with blood, and with the tattered remains of female apparel. The latter seemed as if hacked from the persons of the living wearers; while tresses of human hair lay trampled among the blood that had yet scarcely congealed upon the pavement. In all the apartments there were traces of brutal violence,



and atrocious bloodshed. In a huge well at the rear of the building, naked and mutilated, lay the bodies of 208 females and children, festering together. Upon the walls and pillars of the room in which the massacre had taken place, were the marks of bullets, and of cuts made by sword-strokes, not high up, as if men had fought with men, but low down, and about the corners, where the poor crouching victim had been cut down. Scraps of pencil-writing were seen upon the walls, and scratchings upon the plaster, amongst which were the following sentences:—"Think of us." "Avenge us." "Your wives and children are here in misery, and at the disposal of savages." In one apartment was a row of women's shoes and boots, with amputated bleeding feet; and, on the opposite side of the room, a number of children's shoes, filled in a similar way.

After General Havelock had taken possession of the city and cantonments, he caused all the rebel sepoys, and troopers captured during the recent engagements, to be collectively tried by court-martial, and hanged. The men met the fate they richly deserved with the most transcendent stoicism. Nana Sahib unfortunately escaped; but his palace was very properly given to the flames.

In other quarters the progress of the British arms was not so rapid. Oude was in a state of insurrection; but the garrison at Lucknow held out in spite of the death of the brave Sir Henry Lawrence. The British forces before Delhi were too small to effect the capture of that city. The resources of the mutineers far exceeded those of the assailants. The new commander also died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Wilson. At Agra the rebels had been successful in an engagement, and in its fort were shut up, and besieged, about 4,500 men, women, and children.

In Oude, so universal was the rebellion, that General Havelock, who had advanced from Cawnpore with the view of relieving the garrison at Lucknow, was compelled, after obtaining a victory over the enemy at Bussertutgunge, to retire again upon Cawnpore. His force at this period was reduced to 900 men, who were worn out by fatigue, sickness, and constant fighting, and stood in need of repose. To advance against Lucknow under such circumstances, was merely to court annihilation.

Troops, however, originally destined for service in China, were now arriving in quick succession in India; and, on the 14th of August, Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta to assume the chief command of the armies in India; the veteran having left England in July, at some twenty-four hours' notice, in obedience to the wishes of his sovereign. This circumstance had the effect of reassuring the civilians; imparting new energy to the government; and of giving confidence to the queen's troops, who were highly gratified at having a favourite and highly-distinguished officer of their own service placed at their head. In a proclamation, which he issued on assuming office, he said—"In former years I have commanded native troops in India, and by their side I have been present in many battles and victories, in which they have nobly borne their part; and it is to me a subject of deep concern to learn that soldiers of whom I had been accustomed to think so favourably should now be arrayed in open and defiant mutiny, against a government proverbial for the liberality and paternal consideration with which it has ever treated its servants of every denomination."

At Delhi the time had come for action. By the 6th of September, the siege-train, and all the reinforcements that were looked for, had arrived at the camp, and General Wilson resolved that siege operations should be at once commenced. The actual force of all arms before Delhi amounted to 8,748 men, of whom 2,977 were in hospital. This force included Lascars, newly-raised Sikh sappers and artillerymen, and the recruits of the Punjaub corps. Of British troops there were only—artillery, 580; cavalry, 443; infantry, 2,294. The insurgent forces within and under the walls of Delhi, consisted of disciplined troops, 12,000 infantry, and 4,000 cavalry. In addition to these there were about 4,000 non-military combatants, calculated to prove effectual as auxiliaries to the regular troops.



After a severe bombardment, the assault took place soon after daybreak on the 14th of September. Under a heavy storm of grape our men rushed on, and carried all before them. In two quarters the assault was delivered, and everywhere successfully. As the troops advanced into the city, they were subjected to a heavy fire of grape and musketry from the houses and loopholed walls. So severe was this that one column was repulsed, and compelled to retire into the camp. The city was, however, held by the British, who eventually obtained quarters in covered positions. But the struggle was a prolonged one; and the dogged resistance and ferocious cunning by which our men were encountered at every step, and from behind every wall of the narrow thoroughfares and hiding-places, through which they had to make their way, often compelled them to fight from house to house. During the day many of the inhabitants of the city stole into the camp, and applied for protection, of course disavowing any participation in the rebellion. Slowly, and amidst fierce fighting, the English made their way. The 15th of September was occupied with street-fighting. On the 16th, the magazine was stormed and taken. On the 17th, all the mortars of the English force kept up a fire on the palace, and in the part of the city still occupied by the enemy. On the 19th, the latter abandoned their camp in the suburbs, and, after destroying their surplus ammunition, took to flight. During the night, the king, his sons, and a large portion of the troops within the palace, followed their example. On the morning of the 20th, the British troops pushed on, and occupied the Lahore gate, from which an unopposed advance was made on the other bastions and gateways, until the whole defences of the city were in their hands. During the day, the gates of the palace were blown in: the troops then entered it; and General Wilson established his head-quarters there. On the night of the 21st, the general proposed the health of Queen Victoria, in the beautiful white marble hall of the palace, and the toast was drunk with enthusiastic cheers. Delhi, however, was not recaptured without cost; our loss on the day of the assault amounting to 1,145 killed and wounded.

The king and his sons were pursued and captured by Captain Hodson and his cavalry. His majesty stipulated for his personal safety as the only condition on which he would consent to return to Delhi alive. As he was extremely old—said to be nearly ninety, and, therefore, scarcely to be considered responsible for what had been done in his name—this was granted. He was confined in a small building in the court-yard of his palace, together with his favourite wife, until their fate could be decided by a military tribunal. Two of his sons, and one of his grandsons, were afterwards captured; and, on an attempt to rescue them, were shot by Captain Hodson with his revolver. Their fate was a deserved one, as they had both ordered and witnessed the massacre and exposure of women and children, in the cruelties practised at Delhi on the outburst of the mutiny there. Two other sons of the king were captured, and tried by a military commission, for aiding in the revolt and massacres. They were shot. Shortly after the capture of Delhi, General Wilson was compelled to relinquish the command, and General Penny succeeded. Delhi, after its capture, presented an appearance of mournful desolation. Its houses were in ruins; valuable property lay about the streets; whilst but few inhabitants were to be seen. With its conquest, the *prestige* of the Indian rebellion had passed away. Unfortunately, the war was prolonged for a considerable period; but the chief seat of rebel power was lost. So long as a descendant of the Moguls could spread the banner of his race from the ramparts of his palace at Delhi, rebellion had an aim and a cause.

The next important step was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow. General Havelock again pushed forward for that purpose. He was accompanied by General Outram, who, in an order of the day, said that he, "in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity of chief commissioner of Oude," tendering his military



services to General Havelock as a volunteer. The advance upon Lucknow was a series of skirmishes, during which the British killed many of the enemy, and captured several guns. Their own loss was but trifling until they reached the city. On the 22nd of September, the firing at Lucknow was heard by those who were approaching to its assistance, and a royal salute was fired, to make the besieged aware that help was at hand. On the 25th, the latter had their eyes gladdened by beholding the approach of the relieving force. On the 26th, the batteries of the besiegers were assaulted and taken; but the British loss was heavy, amounting to about 450 killed and wounded. Several officers perished; and amongst them Brigadier Neil, who, during a brief career, had made himself conspicuous as an intelligent, self-reliant soldier, ready of resource, and stout of heart.

Arrived thus far, the difficulties of the place were, unfortunately, by no means vanquished. Havelock could only relieve the wants of the besieged by supplying them with provisions—that is all: and he himself was in danger. General Outram was in the citadel, while Havelock was outside, surrounded by an enemy from 20,000 to 30,000 strong.

Sir Colin Campbell at length took the field in person, leaving Calcutta on the 27th of October, with a body of 5,000 men, including his own Highland brigade, and a heavy train of artillery. On the 11th of November he reached Alumbagh, about three miles from Lucknow, where he was joined by further reinforcements. He then proceeded, as far as possible, to turn the strong positions of the enemy, and reach Lucknow by a circuitous route. For the next six days there was a series of severe and bloody struggles with the enemy, who fought with great courage and determination. On the 17th, communications were opened with the imprisoned garrison and inhabitants; and, on the evening of that day, the three generals—Outram, Havelock, and Campbell—met at dusk, and congratulated each other. The loss of the British had been very heavy; many officers fell, and Sir Colin himself was slightly wounded. On the 20th, the women, children, sick and wounded, who had been shut up at Lucknow, were sent on to Cawnpore. In order to accomplish this, the general was obliged to spread his force into one outlying picket, every man remaining on duty, and being subject to constant annoyance from the enemy's fire. Though the garrison was rescued, Sir Colin was unable to take the town, on account of the immense numerical superiority of the rebels. He therefore commenced a retreat, which was so skilfully effected, that the enemy contemplated an assault while the British general was leading his men silently away. Sir Colin Campbell, in his despatch, observed—"The movement of retreat was admirably executed, and was a perfect lesson in such combinations. Each exterior line came gradually retiring through its supports, till at length nothing remained but the last line of infantry and guns, with which I myself was to pursue the enemy if he had dared to follow up the pickets. The only line of retreat lay through a long and tortuous path; and all these precautions were absolutely necessary, in order to ensure the safety of the force."

The partial success at Lucknow was dimmed by the death of the brave General Havelock. He fell a victim to anxiety, hardship, and the climate.

Major-General Havelock, whose name and fame will always be dear to his countrymen, was born at Bishop Wearmouth, in the year 1795. Educated at the Charter-house, he entered the Middle Temple, and studied under Chitty, with a view to practising at the bar. But all the while he longed to enter the army; and at length an opportunity for doing so arrived. His elder brother, who was in the army, had gained distinction at Waterloo, where he was wounded. It appears that he possessed sufficient influence to obtain for his brother a commission, which Henry gladly accepted. But peace came, and, for eight years, he was obliged to endure a life of mere military routine, in various stations of the United Kingdom. At length, in 1823, an opportunity offered for him to exchange into the 13th Light Infantry—a regiment under orders for Indian service. The necessary steps were



taken, and Henry Havelock landed at Calcutta towards the close of that year. He served in the first Burmese war. In 1827, he was appointed, by Lord Combermere, to the post of adjutant of the military depôt at Chinsurah, on the breaking-up of which he returned to his regiment. Shortly after this he visited Calcutta; and having passed the examination in languages at Fort William, was appointed adjutant of his regiment by Lord William Bentinck. In 1833, Sir Henry was appointed to a company. He served through the Afghan campaign, and was present at the storming of Ghuznee. Next we find him in the Punjaub; then in Cabul, under Sir Robert Sale, where, for his services, he obtained his brevet majority, and was made a Companion of the Bath. In 1843, Major Havelock was with the troops at Gwalior, and at the battle of Maharajpore; shortly after which he obtained the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel; and, in 1845, he proceeded, with Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough, to the Sutlej, and was actively engaged at the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon. On the conclusion of the Sikh war, he was appointed deputy adjutant-general of the queen's troops at Bombay. Thence he obtained sick-leave, and visited England; returning to India in 1851. Lord Hardinge, who had watched Havelock's career with great interest, then made him quartermaster, and afterwards adjutant-general of the queen's forces in India. When the Persian war broke out, in 1856, he was sent there, and led the troops at Mohammerah. On his return, he was wrecked off Ceylon, in his passage to Calcutta. When the vessel struck, between twelve and one in the morning, half a gale of wind blowing, Colonel Havelock sprung upon deck, and seeing some confusion, said, in that sharp military tone that always commands attention—"Men! be steady, and all may be saved; but if we have confusion, all may be lost. Obey your orders, and think of nothing else." They did so, and behaved in the most exemplary manner. The lives of all on board were saved; and, on the following day, all were landed, together with the mails and specie. Immediately afterwards, Colonel Havelock mustered the men on the shore, and said—"Now, my men, let us return thanks to Almighty God, for the great mercy He has just vouchsafed to us." They all knelt down, and he uttered a short prayer of thanksgiving. Another anecdote, illustrating his character, may be given here. When he was travelling in India, he always took with him a Bethel tent, in which he preached the gospel; and when Sunday came, he usually hoisted the Bethel flag, and invited all men to come and hear the gospel: in fact, he even baptized some. He was reported for this at head-quarters, for acting in a non-military and disorderly manner; and the commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, entertained the charge; but with the true spirit of a generous military man, he caused the state of Colonel Havelock's regiment to be examined. The reports descriptive of the moral state of various regiments throughout the presidencies were obtained, and laid before him. These were severally referred to for some time back, and he found that Colonel Havelock's regiment stood at the head of the list: there was less drunkenness, less flogging, less imprisonment in it than any other. When that was done, the commander-in-chief said—"Go and tell Colonel Havelock, with my compliments, to baptize the whole army."

Upon the colonel's return to Calcutta, almost the first news that met him was the report of the mutinous outbreak at Meerut and Delhi. He was immediately despatched to Allahabad, to command the movable column employed against the rebel force under Nana Sahib. How he succeeded in his perilous task we have already described. For his first exploit, in the early summer of 1857, he was rewarded with a good-service pension of £100 a year. Subsequently he was raised to the rank of general; and other honours followed. By his sovereign, the distinction of Knight Commander of the Bath was awarded. The Houses of Parliament voted him a pension of £1,000 a year for two lives. He was made colonel of the 3rd Buffs, and a baronet. But he had passed away ere intelligence of the fresh honours reached him. The honours which the father needed not, were lavished on his family. His son was made a baronet, and promoted to a majority:



his wife was ordained to "have, hold, and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedence to which she would have been entitled had her husband survived." His bust was placed in the Guildhall of the city of London; and for his surviving daughters, a provision was made by the public at large. The *Times* correspondent thus described him—"A slight, spare man; about five feet five inches in height; with an emaciated face, and an eagle eye. He belonged, emphatically, to the class who have never to contend with disobedience or mutiny. As a general, he was the best tactician we have had in India; and as an officer, though stern, and sometimes exacting, his antique heroism made him the idol of the men. He was, perhaps, the bravest man in his own army, and never so chatty and agreeable as when under fire."

Cawnpore had been left by Sir Colin Campbell under the command of General Windham, the hero of the Redan, who had with him about 3,000 men, besides artillery. It is said that his orders from Sir Colin were on no account to risk an engagement. However, on hearing that the Gwalior rebels were advancing on Cawnpore, General Windham went out to attack them. After defeating a body of undisciplined rebels, he allowed himself to be taken by surprise. Still, one of the British regiments charged a battery of the enemy's, and took it. The rebels retired before them; and if these brave men had been supported, it is presumed that victory would have attended their efforts. They were, however, left alone, and the enemy closing on them, they were compelled to abandon the guns they had obtained. Confusion soon prevailed—no decisive orders were issued, and the British troops had to beat a hasty retreat into their intrenchments, leaving their stores and camp equipage in the hands of the enemy. Our loss was heavy, and several of our men, and even some of our officers, were captured. On the following day the enemy attacked the intrenchments, commencing with a heavy cannonade. General Windham attempted a sortie, in which, after some hard fighting, the Rifles managed to capture two guns, but the British right was driven back with much loss. On this occasion the sound of the firing reached the ears of Sir Colin Campbell, who was returning from Lucknow to Cawnpore; and, at the same time, a messenger arrived with a critical account of the state of Windham's party. Had the rebels at this time cut the bridge of boats, which afforded the only means of communication with Oude, Sir Colin would have found it a difficult matter to cross the Ganges; but not expecting his return, and making sure of Windham's force, they were, probably, anxious to avail themselves of the bridge, to crush the forces under Sir Colin Campbell; and this negligence proved fatal to them. With his artillery and cavalry Sir Colin marched thirty-eight miles in fifteen hours; crossed the Ganges by the bridge on the night of the 28th; and the next day fell upon the rebels, and drove them back. He then returned to escort the ladies and the wounded across the river, which he did successfully, though threatened on the left hand by the Oude insurgents.

For the present no further military events of importance took place in India. The mutiny had received some check, but it was far from being crushed. The whole province of Oude remained in the hands of the rebels. Notwithstanding the detachments arriving from England, the cry was still for more troops. The work of the British army in India at this time is thus stated by a writer at Calcutta:—"It has to conquer Oude, defended by 60,000 soldiers, aided by the armed budmashes or bravoos, numbering 200,000 more. It has to reconquer the north-west, now overrun by armed ruffians, animated by the bitterest hate. It has to garrison a country as large as Austria, filled with armed men. It has to protect Bengal, a country 10,000 square miles larger than Great Britain. It has to garrison Calcutta. It has to watch 20,000 disarmed, but unpunished sepoys: and all this time it is losing numbers, at the rate of 150 per battle, or about 300 per week, exclusive of the losses caused by sickness and drinking."

Early in 1858, Sir Colin Campbell advanced upon Furruckabad, and took possession of it after defeating the rebels. It is impossible here to give a complete



history of the war, which was rather a succession of skirmishes than decided by any great events. Distinct operations were carried on under Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Hugh Rose, General Whitelock, and General Roberts. Early in the year the aged King of Delhi was placed upon his trial, and found guilty of participating in the rebellion against the British authority in Delhi, and the inhuman massacre of our countrymen and countrywomen which attended the result. Some time elapsed before sentence was pronounced. It was banishment for life; and he was ultimately removed, with a few attendants, to Rangoon.

Sir Colin Campbell was making preparations for another advance on Lucknow, after which he contemplated pouring down all the British forces upon Oude, in the hope of thus crushing out the head of the rebellion. Many minor operations took place, and the rebels experienced several reverses; but Lucknow, where the begum, one of the ex-king's wives, had a numerous army intrenched, was the theatre in which the next important act was to be played. Sir Colin had returned to Cawnpore, and, after collecting his resources, advanced upon Lucknow, before which the British force was concentrated. On the 6th of March, General Campbell had with him more than 20,000 troops, and 160 guns.

On the 11th, the British were joined by the Maharajah, Jung Bahadoor, and the Ghoorka force under his command. On his march on the 5th, a division of the army under Captain Plowden, defeated the enemy, 4,000 strong, who attempted to defend the passage of the Kindoo Nuddee. Soon after his arrival, he took up a position between the British troops and the Alumbagh, from whence his troops were sent in aid of the attacking force, as occasion required. On the day of Jung Bahadoor's arrival, the begum's palace was stormed and taken by the British troops, chiefly Highlanders, assisted by the Sikhs. The rebels were unnerved at the prospect of a hand-to-hand encounter with our brawny soldiers. Many fled at once, and were pursued, and shot down in the court-yard without resistance; others fired their muskets or matchlocks once, made a random thrust with the bayonet, and ran also; others, surprised in holes and corners, fought with the ferocity of wild beasts. One officer of the 93rd killed, with his own hands, eleven sepoy, whom he shot with his revolver or sabred in the court-yard. By 5 P.M. the palace was in the hands of the Highlanders and the Sikhs, who were rioting amidst the ruins of mirrored and brilliant saloons. "Some of these," said a spectator, "were veritable chambers of horrors. I looked in at two such rooms, where, through the dense smoke, I could see piles of bodies; and I was obliged to own that the horrors of the hospital at Sebastopol were far exceeded by what I witnessed. Upwards of 300 dead were found in the courts of the palace; and if I put the wounded carried off at 700, we may reckon that the capture of the place cost the enemy 1,000 men at least." The works of the British were then carried beyond the palace towards the Imaumbarra—a noble mosque, regarded as one of the finest in India—and the batteries and mortars were brought to bear on that position, and the buildings near it. A cannonade was kept up on it, and on the Kaiserbagh, during the night of the 13th. On the 14th, the Imaumbarra was stormed and taken; the enemy, dismayed by the stern onslaught, and by the fierce fire of our artillery, abandoned their position, and fled in disorder into the Kaiserbagh, which is described as "a series of palaces, kiosks, mosques—all fanciful, oriental architecture; some light and graceful, others merely fantastic and curious, connected generally by long corridors, arched and open in the front, or by extensive wings, which enclose the courts and gardens contained within the outer walls." So disheartened were the rebels, or so resolute was the attack, that the Kaiserbagh was soon taken. Our troops were delighted with the gay dresses they found; and it was with difficulty that they were induced to take off the crowns of lace, and peacock's plumes, and birds of paradise feathers, which they stuck over their heads and shoulders. In one room was found an immense amount of jewellery, and other valuable property, which had belonged to the King of Oude. Two English ladies, who had long been in captivity, were discovered, and restored to liberty.



By the 19th of March, the whole of Lucknow was in the hands of the British. The number of guns captured amounted to 117. About 2,000 of the rebels were slain during the siege. They had previously fled in great numbers, and as many as 50,000 made for Rohilcund and Bundelcund. Great exertions were made, as soon as the plundering was over, to restore order. Protection was extended to the townspeople, and the submission of the principal landowners was accepted.

Whilst we write, news reaches us from India of the satisfactory settlement of the land question in Oude—a measure which has been described as the proudest monument hereafter of Sir John Lawrence's viceroyalty. To understand it, we must pause awhile, and return to the very beginning of things. When the Mogul conquerors descended upon Delhi, and founded their dynasty in the North-West, Oude was one of their acquisitions, and they made a viceregal appanage of it under a Moslem nawab. But Oude was full, beforehand, of a strong and proud Brahmin and Rajpoot nobility, much like the Dane and Saxon ruling in England when the Normans came. Hence the nawabs soon found themselves obliged to make terms with the Hindoo barons, who thus remained upon their various fiefs, "thanes and earls" in the land, paying tribute to the central government at Lucknow, but occasionally rebelling when the screw was put on too tightly, or the bajri crops happened to prove bad. As time went on, the Mohammedan vice-court became the most sensual and abandoned in India, while the barons, or "Talookdars," grew more turbulent and independent. Lucknow, under its last king, was positively the Gomorrah of the East: its revenues were all spent on fiddlers and courtesans; filthy vices occupied the palace; the lazy soldiers plundered the townsmen in lieu of pay. Meanwhile, in the country districts, the Talookdars waged war with each other, or with the royal troops; but, in either case, harried the fields and villages of the unhappy cultivators, whose only chance was to get the protection of some one of the robber chiefs, so as to be fleeced by him alone. At the time of the annexation of Oude, these hereditary rascals had each his stronghold in the heart of some cactus jungle. If no cactus and thorn were growing conveniently, he tore up the crops, planted whole tracts with it, and sallying thence he fed his "budmashes" with plunder—slaying, ravishing, roasting alive, and burning in oil the wretched peasantry. The Court neither would nor could interfere; we gave the destroyers unnumbered chances and warnings; and, at the last, confiscating the province, in accordance with our public obligations and treaties, we brought the detestable House of Lucknow to a condign end. Something else also came—the mutiny; which was undoubtedly incited and abetted by the savage discontent of the native soldiery of Oude, whom the change of masters had turned loose, and, by the disgust of the Hindoo Talookdars, at the advent of law and order into the land.

The mutiny broke forth, raged, and was crushed out—one of the last rebels to surrender being a grim, ugly, square-built chief of Oude, named Maun Singh, who is now the ornament of the province, but whose neck had then the narrowest possible escape from the halter. We, in our turn, found the Talookdars as stiff-backed and strong as the Moslem had found them before us; and to secure their surrender, Lord Canning was fain to offer them very favourable terms. Their jungle lands were, according to the viceroy's circular, to be assured to them by "sunnud" or charter; and the queen's proclamation spoke also the same indulgent language. Thus—and herein is the gist of the whole business—when India was quiet again, and we began to think anew of what was to be done for unhappy Oude, we found our efforts to elevate the peasantry checked, first, by the pledge which had been given to the Talookdars; and, secondly, by a class of sub-proprietors, midway between the two orders, who in many districts shared the title to the land, being the relics of those original Rajpoot and Brahmin farmers who had been mainly swallowed up by the few great chieftains. The righteous, constant, and paramount desire of Sir John Lawrence was to give the peasants, if it were possible, a secure occupancy of the soil, and thus to make our rule, what would



finally justify it, a blessing. Against him, writers at home, and officials in India, urged the claims of the Talookdars—the sub-proprietors being, to say the truth, a little driven out of sight in the discussion; and for two years the question of oriental tenant-right has “raged,” if that phrase can apply to the leisurely way in which all policy must be pursued with the thermometer at 90 degrees. It was, in fact, the eternal problem of all political economists transferred from print to practice; and such was the fierce ignorance of Tory views at home and in India, that pets were made of the Talookdars, and people shuddered at the beneficent viceroy, who “wanted to pull down the aristocrats, and establish a territorial democracy.” Even if inquiry had shown that a peasant proprietorship had once existed, there would still have remained for fulfilment the hasty pledge made to the Talookdars. But inquiry could not show it: all ancient rights were buried in the ruin of a century of horrible anarchy; the wretched people stood without claim or plea; and the viceroy found himself foiled and misinterpreted. Sir Charles Wingfield, the commissioner, negotiated with the Talookdars in vain, and a year ago the Oude land question seemed hopeless.

But the Talookdars themselves felt that the good-will of Sir John Lawrence and his advocates towards the Oude ryots could not for ever be void of effect; so the negotiations were renewed, and they have now been terminated in a satisfactory compromise. When we say that the Oude nobles, with Maun Singh at their head, gladly agree to the terms of the settlement, not a word need be added as to its justice towards them. Never yet in India—perhaps not very often elsewhere—did “those who have” surrender more than they could possibly help. But the Talookdars are now confirmed in their estates and pre-annexation rights; and as they are already becoming the mildest-mannered country gentlemen, devoted to expositions of industry and education, instead of throat-cutting, our formal concession makes them friendly to us for good and all, until luxury and peace put an end to the race. With respect to the sub-proprietors, the Talookdars agree to recognise as rights the tenures that have hitherto been held only as “favour,” while government accepts part of the seigniorial loss that may accrue. Thus, at a stroke, has been created a substantial class of yeomen, or the nearest thing to it, which India can furnish. If the great predial treaty stopped here, bitter would be the injustice to the ryots, and heavy the disappointment to well-wishers of India, including, we are convinced, the wise viceroy himself. But, by a third most important arrangement, a tenant-right is conferred upon the peasants, so that no man can be evicted without receiving due compensation for his improvements, though the landlord may compound by transferring him, with a new and proportionally favourable lease, elsewhere. So momentous an innovation renders the liberal policy of Sir John Lawrence, after all, victorious. When the new guarantees shall be thoroughly understood, we believe that Oude will possess a settlement that will redeem her millions of ryots, and make the country smile again with the glorious fertility and prosperity which the old “shlokes” recount with such delight. Each Talookdar is made our friend; each Talook is rescued from the old entanglement of proprietary and ex-proprietary rights; above all, the humble peasant may at last grub up his jungle, or dig his well, or build his bund, or wall his tank, in the certainty that the work of his hands will not be lost to him.

But we return to the mutiny. Five days after the rebels had been expelled from Lucknow, a considerable detachment of the British army, under the command of Brigadier Walpole, marched for Rohilcund, in pursuit. This movement was undertaken in the anticipation that the fugitives from Lucknow would concentrate themselves at Bareilly. At the same time, successful operations against the rebels took place in other districts. Jhansie, in Central India, where about 12,000 of the insurgents had taken up a position, was invested by the force under Sir Hugh Rose. On the 1st of April, 25,000 rebels, with eighteen guns, endeavoured to raise the siege, and were defeated, with the slaughter of 1,500 men. The town and fortifications were captured on the 2nd; and, on the 5th, the garrison escaped from



the fortress during the night. Great numbers were cut to pieces in the flight; about 3,000 perished.

The capture of Lucknow was not, however, attended with such important advantages as at first anticipated. The rebel force, though driven from the city, was not destroyed, but remained in arms in various parts of the country. Nana Sahib, the inspiring genius of the rebellion, and the director of the massacres at Cawnpore, still remained at the head of a considerable force, and baffled the attempts to capture him, notwithstanding that a reward of 50,000 rupees, which had been set upon his head by the Governor-general, was increased to one lac, accompanied by a promise of a free pardon to any one who might deliver him up. Some slight reverses were also experienced by the British—one near Allahabad, and the other near Azimghur. Colonel Mileman, commanding at the latter post, having defeated and dispersed a body of rebels at Atrowlia, on the morning of the 21st of March, found them assembling again in such large numbers while his men were preparing breakfast, that he was compelled to retire, first to his camp, and then to Azimghur, leaving some of his tents and baggage, of which the rebels took possession.

The rebels who fled to Rohilcund and Bareilly, submitted to a new chieftain, one Bahadore Khan, who had risen to distinction from the ranks. This man commenced building up a regular administration, collecting revenue, and striking coins in his own name. A hot weather campaign was inevitable; and Sir Colin Campbell made his preparations accordingly. Leaving a body of 8,000 men, under Sir H. Grant, at Lucknow, and placing small garrisons at Cawnpore, and other points, the commander-in-chief proceeded with the remainder of his forces, not exceeding 8,000 men, to Rohilcund, where he suffered, as he had done all along, from want of men. Jung Bahadore, our ally, and the Nepaulese contingents, fell back upon their own frontier, to protect it from the rebels; and Sir Colin had, with his handful of troops, to follow up the enemy in large masses, and to reduce vast provinces. The strongholds of rebellion were broken up by our generals, at Delhi, Lucknow, and elsewhere; but, unfortunately, always with the same result. The sepoys retired, after suffering a loss but trifling in comparison with their numbers. Oude remained unconquered; and beyond the suburbs of Lucknow, the country bristled with fortresses, the strongholds of powerful zemindars, many of them able to command the services of thousands of armed peasantry. The insurrectionary war now assumed a new phase, and one of a most embarrassing kind to the historical narrator. A war, in the European sense of the word, no longer existed; for there was no central point. Instead of one great campaign, there were several little ones, all tending to delay the desired pacification. But this was slow work; indeed, in the opinion of many persons in India, it was considered that anarchy must be looked upon as an established institution for many years to come.

Thus, Brigadier Walpole experienced a reverse in his advance on Rohilcund, being repulsed in an attack on the fort of Rhodamow, in Poonah, on the 14th of April, when Brigadier Adrian Hope was killed; and the total loss in killed and wounded was near a hundred. On the 22nd, however, he defeated a large body of the enemy at Seisa, where they lost 500 men. On the 28th, Sir Colin Campbell joined Walpole, and a combined movement on the place was completely successful. But the day before, the British had experienced a great loss in the death, from small-pox, at Cawnpore, of Sir William Peel, who had so gallantly commanded the naval brigade in India and the Crimea, and who was wounded in the last advance on Lucknow. From Bareilly, Nana Sahib and Khan Bahadore escaped, to prolong the struggle in other quarters. No sooner was Bareilly in our hands, than Sir Colin Campbell learned that the 82nd was besieged in the gaol of Shahjehanpore, by 8,000 rebels. Brigadier Jones was instantly despatched to relieve them, a service which he successfully accomplished. The Gwalior contingent, after being defeated by Sir Colin Campbell earlier in the year, took up its quarters at Calpee. This body of men, amounting to about 25,000, had all the organisation of a regular



army, and was composed of the best native troops in India. For some time they had remained inactive at Calpee, an excellent strategetical position, on the banks of the Jumna, within fifty miles of Cawnpore. From this point they could, at any time, menace the flank and rear of the British line of operations. Sir Hugh Rose, who had fought his way across the peninsula, came into the neighbourhood of Calpee in the middle of May. The Gwalior men attacked him twice as he advanced, and were each time repulsed with loss. On the 23rd of May, he entered Calpee, which the enemy made no effort to defend. They fled across the Jumna, leaving large stores of guns and ammunition behind. A flying column, sent in pursuit, inflicted great loss on the retreating rebels.

Rohilcund, by this time, was entirely in the power of Sir C. Campbell; but while our troops were beating the enemy wherever they could, fresh disturbances were breaking out all over the country. Lucknow was again threatened by a force from the north; and the Southern Mahratta country was still threatened by the insurrection of petty chiefs, who carried on a wearisome guerilla warfare. During this period our troops suffered severely from the heat, and our losses from the climate far exceeded those sustained in battle. Under such circumstances, the campaign was terribly costly to European life. The rebels, accustomed to the scorching heat, could outmarch our troops, and when driven from the position in which they made a stand, were usually able to retire in tolerable order. Thus the main body of the Gwalior contingent, after being driven from Calpee by Sir Hugh Rose, were rallied by Tantia Topee, and, being reinforced by other bodies of rebels, proceeded rapidly to Gwalior, where they arrived on the 1st of June. The loyal Maharajah Scindia marched out at the head of a small force to meet them, in consequence of the defection of his own troops. He, with difficulty, escaped to Agra; his palace was plundered, and his fort seized by the rebels. After the latter had entered Gwalior, they proclaimed Nana Sahib as Maharajah, and assigned themselves six months' pay. The treasury and a portion of the town were plundered by them; but their triumph was of short duration. Sir Hugh Rose marched upon Gwalior, and, after a severe fight of four hours, captured it on the 20th of June. The victory was a brilliant one; but the foe escaped nevertheless. Twenty-seven guns, numerous elephants, and a quantity of treasure rewarded the victors; and Scindia, on the very day of the battle, was restored to his palace in state.

Other successes followed; the cause of the rebels was evidently hopeless: but the insurrection was prolonged nevertheless. The rebels appear to have fought with the desperation of despair: but people desired a return to order and tranquillity. Nowhere was the pressure from the war felt more heavily by the native population than in Oude: but then there were many leaders of the revolt, besides the begum, who still maintained herself at the head of 16,000 rebels. She was defeated by Sir Hope Grant at Nawabgunge, on the 14th of June, with great loss. Mr. Montgomery soon after arrived at Lucknow, with full powers from the Governor-general to take what steps he deemed necessary to re-establish order; and so judicious were his measures, that considerable progress had been made in that direction towards the end of July. About the same time, Sir Hope Grant, hearing that the rebels were in great force at Tyrabad, marched upon that city. The enemy broke up, and dispersed as he approached; and he entered the place, unopposed, on the 29th. In August they were found again collected at Sultanpore, on the Goomtee. Sir Hope Grant followed them; and, after skirmishing and fighting from the 25th till the 29th, they were driven from the town, and fled to Sassenpore. By the occupation of Sultanpore, the communication between the great body of rebels (which continued in the north of Oude), and the marauding bands that infested the districts of Azimghur and Goruckpore, was cut off. The military operations were continued in Oude, through the months of September and October, under the direction of the commander-in-chief, now Lord Clyde. Before commencing his campaign, his lordship issued a proclamation to the people, in which protection was promised to all, "from the Talookdars to the poorest ryots,"



who made no resistance; but wherever resistance was offered, the inhabitants were told they must expect to bear the fate they had brought upon themselves. All the movements in Oude were attended with success on the part of the British forces. The same was the case in the other parts of the North-Western Provinces, and in Central India, where parties of rebels were still found. Sir Edward Lugard, Sir H. Rose, Brigadiers Whitelock, Roberts, Wetherall, Eveleigh, Jones, Napier, Penny, and other officers, were constantly engaged in pursuing and defeating the rebels, who everywhere had a marvellous faculty of escaping their pursuers. The fact is, that none of the British detachments had a force of light cavalry sufficient to follow up their victories; and the rebels, less encumbered with baggage, and better acquainted with the country, had no difficulty in evading pursuit.

And now let us speak of the mutiny in general. As we have seen, it was a terrible affair. It began and ended in blood and fearful crime; but it might have been worse. We might have fought a hopeless fight. Who saved us? The native princes. As respects them, writes Mr. Ludlow, "it were fit that we should open our eyes to the fact, that their faithfulness has, on this occasion, saved India for us. Notwithstanding our Lawrences, our Neils, our Nicholsons, our Wilsons—notwithstanding the chivalry of our Outrams, the pure heroism of our Havelocks—notwithstanding the ever-to-be-remembered defences of Agra and Lucknow, or of that billiard-room of Arrah, we could not have held our ground but for the abstinence of almost all the native princes from aggression—the active co-operation of a few. Had the Nepaulese descended from their mountain fastnesses upon Calcutta—had the Burmese poured in upon it through Chittagong—had Golab Singh, or the noble chiefs of Puttiala or Jheend, made appeal to the patriotism of the Sikh Khalsa—had Scindia or Holkar placed themselves at the head of their revolted contingents—had the chiefs of Rajpootana sprung to the van of a Hindoo insurrection—had the Nizam proclaimed to the Indian Mahomedans the holy war—had any one of these events happened, I say—and who dare assert what disasters might not have occurred?—had several of them happened at once, as they might very likely have done, and what English life in India could have escaped destruction? It is easy to accuse these men of selfish motives. I dare say such may have mingled in their conduct. But I believe it would be neither wise nor right to inquire too curiously into it. The generality of the fact is the best proof that some higher, more humane motive than fear or cunning must have prompted it. Such a conspiracy of prudence was surely never witnessed among them. A prevalent good faith is the only rational solution of the mystery. Yet I believe these men, one and all, have had better cause of complaint against us."

Another thing very remarkable, is the utter insensibility to the real danger, which seems to have completely prevented the ruling class from taking alarm, or preparing for defence. Warnings were given them of all kinds. It was reported to the authorities that the chowkeydars, or village policemen, were speeding from Cawnpore, through the villages and towns of the peninsula, distributing on their way chupatties, or small unleavened cakes. The cakes were passed on from one to another with the most extraordinary rapidity. The English officials were bewildered, and did not know what to make of it; yet, even then, it was argued by some that the thing was something analogous to the fire-cross of our Highlanders in earlier times. Early in January, an incendiary address, written in Hindostanee, was placarded at Madras, calling upon all true believers to rise against the English infidels, and drive them from India. In Oude a person had been arrested going about with similar proclamations; and, on the 6th of February, a lieutenant of a native regiment, stationed at Barruckpore, disclosed to his colonel some proceedings, which afforded ample ground for believing that the sepoys contemplated an outbreak, during which they intended to kill the European officers at the station; and, after plundering it, to destroy the place, and retire towards Delhi. The communication was duly reported to the general commanding the district; but no further notice was taken of it. In Oude discontent was apparent, and a conspiracy



of a most formidable nature was discovered in the Bengal army in May; yet the confidence of the government on its own resources remained unabated.

It may be said, if the officers had done their duty, they would have been able to detect the bad feeling among the men. In reality, the tie which ought always to exist in our army was rudely loosened. The power to punish had been taken out of the hands of the commanding officer, and transferred to head-quarters. While this system destroyed the influence of the officers, it, at the same time, materially diminished the interest they took in the men only nominally under their control. The sepoys themselves were by it taught to look beyond their own officers, and to hold their authority in contempt. A return of the number of petitions and appeals against the orders of their officers, presented by sepoys to head-quarters within the past ten years, will fully establish this fact, and show that the due exercise of authority on the part of regimental officers, was almost an impossibility. High-spirited officers would prefer exercising no authority at all over their men, to the liability of having their acts called in question, and their orders often modified and reversed. The result was, that to maintain things quiet in a regiment became a great object, and hence an undue leaning on leading men in the regiment to maintain order and discipline in the corps. These men, of course, employed their influence to introduce their friends and relatives into the regiments, which, in course of time, became great families, recruited from the same districts and the same classes, and thus closely bound together by ties of relationship and local interest. This system, while it has the advantage of maintaining order and unanimity in a corps—a matter of vital importance to officers whose hands are tied—had thus great danger of affording peculiar facilities for safely and secretly intriguing, and for dangerous combination. Then, again, the practice, latterly so prevalent, of withdrawing for staff employ all those officers who possessed interest, or were of supposed superior abilities, engendered an unhappy feeling of degradation in the minds of officers, as attaching to regimental duty, and thus still more weakened the bonds of sympathy and attachment between them and their men. To these causes, added to the mental closeness and secrecy natural to the people of India, is to be attributed the ignorance, on the part of the officers, of the intrigues and conspiracies existing in their regiments.

The government had been forewarned by some of the ablest men we ever had in India.

Sir Thomas Munro, years ago, testified to the danger of the native army revolting.

In 1844, Sir Charles Napier wrote—"I see the system will not last fifty years. The moment these brave and able natives know how to combine, they will rush on us simultaneously, and the game is up." He planned, even then, how, "if forced to fight for life and India," we could close *en masse*, "to retire on Calcutta or Bombay, with all the Europeans, civil and military, and any faithful native troops. This may seem a wild idea of danger; but it is not impossible, and we should always be prepared; for if ever mischief comes in India, it will come like a thunderbolt." Four years later his own opinion was pretty well made up, that our power in India "was crumbling very fast." He could not agree with Lord Ellenborough as to the revision of the Company's charter in that year being the last revision of the charter during his life. "I think you will live to see a much rougher revision than people imagine, or than we shall like in England. \* \* \* I do not expect to see this, but I think you will; and grieved you will be to see that empire lost, which you have done all that mortal power could to save."

In language equally emphatic, General Biggs had warned the government of the effect of the policy which it seemed bent on pursuing. "If you do away," said he, "with the right of adoption, with respect to the princes of India, the next question will be, whether, in the case of estates which you yourselves have conferred on officers for their services, or upon other individuals for their merits, they should be allowed to adopt? \* \* \* If you are to do away with the rights of



individuals to adopt, you will shake the faith of the people of India; you will influence that opinion which has hitherto maintained you in your power, and that influence will thrill through your army. \* \* \* \* Your army is derived from the peasantry of the country, who have rights; and if these rights are infringed upon, you will no longer have to depend upon the fidelity of that army. You have a native army of 250,000 men to support your power, and it is on the fidelity of that army your power rests. But you may rely on it, if you infringe the institutions of the people of India, that army will sympathise with them, for they are part of the population; and in every infringement you may make upon the rights of individuals, you infringe upon the rights of men who are either themselves in the army, or upon their sons, their fathers, and their relatives. Let the fidelity of your army be shaken, and your power is gone."

Yet all the while they were mutinying at Meerut. Lord Canning persisted in maintaining there was nothing in it; and the commanding officer at Delhi took no steps to prevent the rebels from Meerut rushing into the town, and actually marched out native troops to meet them, who, of course, joined them at once.

If such things were done in India, there is an excuse for the official ignorance of Mr. Vernon Smith, who, as President of the Board of Control, informed the House of Commons on the 11th of June, in answer to questions asked by Mr. Rich as to the state of the Bengal army, that, "As the question might have been founded on the unfortunate occurrences which had recently taken place in India, it might be desirable that he should state that those occurrences were in no way to be attributed to the absence of officers from their regiments;" and he expressed a hope that the public would be under no alarm on that subject, as owing to the promptitude and vigour which had been displayed by his friend Lord Canning, and the excellent demonstrations which had been made upon the occasion of the disbandment of the 19th regiment by General Hearsey, "*the late disaffection among the troops in India had been completely put an end to!*"

The result of this mutiny was the suppression of the East India Company's rule. The system of government under it was cumbrous, wasteful, inefficient, and dishonest, as a piece of administrative machinery; and, as a form of rule, peculiarly ill-adapted to fix the affections and loyalty of the native races of India. Practically, it failed in every one of the requisites of good government. Mr. Ludlow writes—

"It has failed to give security to persons or property throughout by far the greater portion of India; sometimes by leaving the subject exposed to the open violence of brigands; always by placing him at the mercy of oppressive and fraudulent officials.

"The judicial system is costly, dilatory, and inefficient.

"The revenue system, contrary to almost every sound principle of political economy, seems devised, in its different branches, so as to promote the largest amount of oppression, extortion, and immorality.

"As a matter of fact, the population are, in most parts of the country, sinking alike in physical condition and in moral character.

"Many of the above-mentioned evils are of British introduction; others have been aggravated under British rule.

"The good which has been done—due in almost every instance to the special efforts of individuals, and generally thwarted at first—has been, for the most part, extremely trifling or partial, and superficial.

"The most magnificent public works, such as the canals of the north, and its once metalled road, became wholly insignificant when compared with the vast number of works executed in native times—many, in some districts most, of which remain yet in a state of decay, though the cess payable for their maintenance, or the increased assessment, due in respect of the surplus value which they are supposed to create, may still be exacted.

"A wholly new vice, drunkenness, has been introduced among the Hindoo



population; is largely spreading, and is fostered by the exigencies of the public revenue.

"In that part of India which lies most open to independent observation—Bengal—sullen discontent is declared to characterise the rural population.

"In that part which has, by universal consent, engaged the largest share of government favour, a military revolt has stalked, well-nigh unchecked, through the land; and, in many places at least, the village population have risen upon European fugitives.

"Such are the results of one century of the Company's rule in India." So writes Mr. Ludlow; and, as such seemed to be the general impression, the Company's rule passed away.

Lord Palmerston had previously made an attempt to legislate on the subject. On the 12th of February, 1858, his lordship moved for leave to bring in a bill for transferring from the East India Company to the crown the government of her majesty's dominions in the East Indies. He brought forward this measure, he said, not out of any hostility to the Company on the ground of any delinquency on their part, or as implying any blame or censure on that body, which had done many good things for India, and whose administration had been attended with great advantages to the population under their rule. The Company's political authority, he observed, had not been conferred; it had grown up gradually and accidentally from small beginnings—factories extending to districts, and districts being enlarged into provinces. When, however, their commercial privileges were withdrawn, the Company became but a phantom of what it was, and subsided into an agency of the imperial government, without, however, responsibility to parliament, or any immediate connection with India. He pointed out the inconveniences of the double government, by the Board of Control and a Court of Directors, elected by a body consisting of holders of East India stock. He admitted that a system of check was beneficial; but check and counter-check might be so multiplied as to paralyse action, and he thought that it was desirable that this cumbrous machinery should be reduced in form to what it was in fact, and that complete authority should rest where the public thought that complete responsibility should rest, instead of nominally in an irresponsible body, ostensibly a company of merchants. The bill would be confined to a change of the government at home, without any alteration of the arrangements in India, the intention being to alter as little as possible, consistently with the great object in view, the establishment of a responsible government for India, as for other countries of the crown. He proposed that the functions of the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors should cease, and that there should be substituted a president and council for the affairs of India. The president to be a member of the cabinet; and the councillors to be named by the crown, eight in number, who should be appointed for eight years. It was proposed that the decision of the president, who would be the organ of the government, should be final; but that, if the councillors dissented from his opinion, they should have the right to record their opinion in minutes; and on matters concerning the Indian revenue, it was intended that the president should have the concurrence of four councillors. He proposed that the council should have the power of distributing the business among themselves; that the president should be placed upon the footing of a Secretary of State; and that the councillors should have salaries of £1,000 a year. It was proposed that, while all the powers, now vested in the Court of Directors should be transferred to this council, all appointments in India, now made by the local authorities, should continue to be so made; that the president should be authorised to appoint one secretary, capable of sitting in that House; but it was not proposed that the councillors should be capable of sitting in parliament. There was one matter of constitutional difficulty which, he remarked, had always been the foundation of an objection to this change—namely, the patronage. With regard, however, to the local appointments, they would continue to be made in India. Members of the local council, likewise,



would be made by the Governor-general. Arrangements had already been made by which writerships were obtained by open competition, and this system would be continued. Cadetships had hitherto been divided between the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control, and it was proposed to leave them to the president and council. The final appointment of both would depend upon their efficiency in India. A certain portion of the cadetships would be reserved for the sons of Indian officers. There would, therefore, be no additional patronage thrown into the hands of the government which could provoke the slightest constitutional jealousy. As the president and council would possess the powers of the existing secret committee, it was proposed that, in any case where orders were sent to India involving the commencement of hostilities, they should be communicated to parliament within one month. The revenues of India would, of course, be applied solely to the purposes of Indian government; and auditors would be appointed to examine the expenditure of the revenue, and their audit would be laid before parliament. In conclusion, Lord Palmerston replied to anticipated objections, expressing his opinion that the change he proposed, while it strengthened the power of England in India, would, on the other hand, better enable the government to discharge those duties towards the people of India which it was intended this nation should perform. Mr. T. Baring moved, by way of amendment, "That it is not expedient to legislate upon the government of India." The amendment was negatived by 218 to 173; and leave was given to Lord Palmerston to bring in his bill, which, however, fell to the ground, in consequence of the noble lord's resignation of office.

The act for the better government of India received the royal assent on the 2nd of August, and came into operation on the 1st of September, 1858. By its provisions all the governing powers of the East India Company are transferred to the crown, with all the Company's rights, territories, revenue, and liabilities. The powers heretofore vested in the Court of Directors, Court of Proprietors, and the Board of Control, are centred in a minister of the crown, called her majesty's Secretary of State for India, to be assisted by a council of fifteen members, seven of whom were, in the first instance, elected by the Court of Directors, and eight nominated by the crown. These members to hold their offices for life, or during their good behaviour; they are not eligible to seats in parliament, and receive a salary of £1,200 per annum, with a retiring pension, after ten years' service, of £500. Vacancies amongst the nominated members are to be filled up by the crown, and amongst those chosen by election; the remaining members of the council being the constituency. Lord Stanley was appointed the first Secretary of State for India.

The Court of Directors met on the 7th of August, and proceeded to the election of the seven members of the council, whose appointment was left in their hands. Their choice fell upon members of their own body, all well acquainted with India—viz., Sir James Weir Hogg, Mr. Charles Mill, Captain Shepherd, Mr. Eliot Macnaughten, Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangles, Captain Eastwick, and Mr. Prinsep. The crown appointed Sir John Lawrence, Sir H. C. Montgomery, Sir Frederick Currie, Major-General Sir R. Vivian, Colonel Sir P. Cantley, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, Mr. John Pollard Willoughby, and Mr. William Arbuthnot. These members were divided into three committees:—1. Home and public works. 2. Political and military. 3. Revenue, judicial and legislative. Sir George Clerk and Mr. Henry Baillie were appointed Secretaries of State for India, and Mr. James Cosmo Melville, who had been Deputy Secretary to the East India Company, Assistant Under-Secretary. Mr. John Stuart Mill, Secretary to the Company, declined accepting any office, though pressed to do so by Lord Stanley, on account of ill-health.

The East India proprietors held their last meeting, as governors of India and lords of its territory, on the 30th of August. Their closing acts were to vote an annuity of £2,000 per annum to Sir John Lawrence, for his great services in India;



and to pass votes of thanks to the chairman, vice-chairman, and members of the Court of Directors, and their officers. The proprietors still exist as a company to administer their property, known as East India stock; and directors are elected as usual, with the powers of the directors of a joint-stock company. The amount of India stock is £12,000,000, and upwards of £300,000 pass through the directors' hands every year for the payment of dividends. The body is still, therefore, an important one in a business point of view. Its meetings continued to be held at the India House, Leadenhall Street; and Lord Stanley selected that house for the offices of the new council, as being more convenient, in every respect, than the offices of the Board of Control, in Canon Row. Ultimately, however, the council emigrated to the west; the India House was pulled down; its museum was dispersed, and not a vestige of it now remains.

At a dinner of the Fishmongers' Company of London, at which Lord Stanley was present, his lordship thus referred to the change which had been effected in the government of India, and said—"I do not stand here for the purpose of reviving, or even alluding to past controversies; but this I may be permitted to say, that throughout those parliamentary discussions which ended in the transfer of the Indian government from the Company to the executive of this country, that change was uniformly represented by me, and by those colleagues with whom I acted, as not involving any sentence of condemnation against the administration of that great Company whose century of empire has come to an end. We looked upon it, and I think rightly, as a change which was the natural and even necessary result of the lapse of time, and the progress of events. I believe the change will be productive of benefit to India. I hope it will lead to a larger introduction into that country of European energy, enterprise, and thought; but I cannot conceal from myself, I cannot conceal from you, that that change has greatly increased the responsibilities of the government of this country, which has to guard against a double danger. First, they have to protect India from all the fluctuation of parliamentary politics; and, secondly, they have to guard England from the more remote, but not, perhaps, the less real, risk which may arise from the connection of its executive with an executive that is purely despotic."

But we must not forget Lord Palmerston. As usual, we find him ready to take up arms on behalf of the absent. In 1857, at a banquet at the Guildhall on the inauguration of the mayoralty of Sir Richard Carden, his lordship, after paying a deserved tribute to the valour of the troops, and to the endurance of those who had suffered in India, said—"While we do justice to the great bulk of our countrymen in India, we must not forget that person who, by his exalted position, stands at the head of our countrymen there. I mean the Governor-general. Lord Canning has shown throughout, the greatest courage, the greatest ability, and the greatest resources; and from the cordiality which exists between him, as head of the civil service, and Sir Colin Campbell as head of the military service, we may be sure that everything which the combined experience of both can accomplish, will be effected for the advantage of the country. The task of Lord Canning will be, indeed, a difficult one. He will have to punish the guilty; he will have to spare the innocent; and he will have to reward the deserving. To punish the guilty exceeds the power of any civilised man; for the atrocities which have been committed are such as to be imagined and perpetrated only by demons sallying forth from the lowest depths of hell. But punishment must be inflicted, not only in a spirit of vengeance, but in a spirit of security, in order that the example of punished crime may deter from a repetition of the offence, and in order to ensure the safety of our countrymen and countrywomen in India for the future. He will have to spare the innocent; and it is most gratifying to him, that while the guilty may be counted by thousands, the innocent must be reckoned by millions. It is most gratifying to us, and honourable to the people, that the great bulk of the population have had no share in the enormities and crimes which have been committed: they have experienced the blessings of British rule, and they have been



enabled to compare it with the tyranny exercised over them by their native chiefs. They have, therefore, had no participation in the attempts which have been made to overthrow our dominion. Most remarkable it is, that the inhabitants of that part of our empire which has been most recently annexed (I mean the Punjab), who have had the most recent experience of the tyranny of their native rulers, have been most loyal on the present occasion, and most attached to their new and benevolent masters. Lord Canning will also have to reward the deserving; for many are they, both high and low, who have not only abstained from taking part in this mutiny, but who have most kindly and generously sheltered fugitives, rescued others from the assaults of the mutineers, and have merited recompense at the hands of the British government. I am convinced, that if Lord Canning receives (as I am sure he will) that confidence on the part of her majesty's government, and of the people of this country—without which it is impossible for a man, in his high position, to discharge the duties which have devolved upon him—it will be found, when this dreadful tragedy is over, that he has properly discharged his duty; and that his conduct has been governed, not only by a sense of stern and unflinching justice, but also by that discriminating generosity which is the peculiar characteristic of the British people."

The next thing to be done was to let the Indians know of the change of government. Accordingly, a proclamation was issued, setting forth the fact, and announcing to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, were accepted by the queen, and would be by her maintained. The proclamation continued—"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression on our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachments on those of others. We shall respect the rights, honours, and dignities of native princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that none be in anywise favoured; none molested, or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and require all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will, that, as far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, may be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and we will that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India."

The document next took up the subject of the rebellion; and her majesty said, that having shown her power "by the suppression of that rebellion in the field," she was now desirous of evincing her "mercy by pardoning the offences of those who had been misled, but who desired to return to the path of duty." Clemency was promised to all except those who had been or should be "convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects." With regard to such, the natives were told that "justice forbade the exercise of mercy." Their



lives only could be guaranteed to such as had "wilfully given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such;" those who had acted as "leaders or instigators of rebellion," could only be placed in the same category; but to "all others in arms against the government, unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences" against the queen, her crown and dignity, were promised, if they made their submission before the 1st of January, 1859. "And," said her majesty, in conclusion, "when, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security; and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

This important document was received at Calcutta in October, and arrangements were made for publishing it throughout the presidencies and the North-West Provinces, simultaneously, on the 1st of November. Great preparations were made at Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, and all the other principal towns in the British dominions, in order that the ceremony might be marked with that solemnity and imposing pomp which ought to characterise an event of such importance. Throughout India, the 1st of November, 1858, seems to have been a day of rejoicing, the event being commemorated in much the same way as we celebrate festivals in England—by the ringing of bells—by processions, with bands of music—by military spectacles—by public dinners and illuminations. Everywhere the proclamation was hailed with tokens of approval, and was followed by addresses to the queen from the native inhabitants of all the principal places; and the spirit with which it was received by that numerous class may be judged of by the following extracts from the addresses signed by her "majesty's native subjects residing in the town and island of Bombay." Having referred to the importance of the change of government, the address thus proceeded:—

"Firmly persuaded, as we are, that the great principles of moderation, impartiality, and justice, characteristic of your majesty's government in all parts of the British empire, will henceforth, as ever, be scrupulously recognised, we venture to offer to your majesty our humble and hearty congratulations on the assumption of your royal supremacy over this vast country; and we beg leave, at the same time, to express our cordial hope, that the important change of administration which has been thus inaugurated, may have the effect of placing your majesty's rule in India on a basis still more secure than that upon which it has rested for so many years. With earnest prayers for the welfare of your majesty; of the prince, your illustrious consort; and of your royal family; as well as for the speedy restoration of tranquillity in the disturbed provinces of British India, and for a long continuance of peace and tranquillity in your majesty's dominions—we, with the profoundest respect, subscribe ourselves your majesty's most devoted, humble, and dutiful subjects."

The native chiefs also expressed their pleasure at the change; some of them in addresses to the queen. Loyal effusions, copied from the Persian poets, were circulated among the Mahommedan population; loyal prayers were put up in the synagogues of the Jews; and the assumption of the *raj*, or government, by the queen was hailed by the loyal in India with delight.

One of the first effects of the proclamation was the submission of the Rajah Lall Madhoo Singh, who went into the British camp on the 10th of November; and, in the night, his troops evacuated the fort of Amethie, which had been held against Lord Clyde. The fort of Simree, in Oude, had been taken by Brigadier Eveleigh on the 9th; and several other forts were surrendered shortly after—the Talookdars sending in their submissions, and giving up their arms. In Rohilcund the proclamation also had the most salutary effect; the people of all classes receiving it



universally in the spirit which it was intended to evoke. This was its effect generally amongst the people in the disturbed districts; but the begum, Nana Sahib, Tantia Topee, Feroze Shah, and other rebel chiefs, knowing themselves to be excluded from the amnesty, remained in arms, and many followers rallied round them. Military operations, therefore, could not be discontinued. Yet, by the end of November, Lord Clyde informed the Governor-general that, in Oude, "he advanced in line (extending over a length of 200 miles), stretching from the confines of Rohilcund to Allahabad and Azimghur, and had suppressed everything like rebellion, in a large sense of the word, beyond the Gogra, with the sole exception of the Seetapore districts, which were about being settled by Brigadier Barker." By the end of the year Oude was nearly free from rebels; the people were quiet and contented, and the revenue well paid.

The opening of 1859 found the authority of the queen acknowledged throughout Oude and Central India. Tantia Topee had been chased, during the months of November and December, from every position he took up. He had, it was supposed, been joined by Prince Feroze Shah, who had made his escape from Oude; and both those chiefs suffered repeated defeats, losing elephants and guns on every occasion. One of the most decisive affairs connected with Central India, took place on the 29th of December, when the troops under Major-General Whitelock stormed the heights of Panwarree, where a noted chief, the Rajah Radho Govind, had intrenched himself with a very numerous force. The rebels were totally defeated and dispersed; Radho Govind, his brother, and upwards of 300 of his followers, were killed; and his elephants, guns, and state howdah captured. In this district there still remained, for some time, bodies of men in arms; but by the time the cold weather of 1859 had passed away, the embers of dissatisfaction had been trodden out. Tantia Topee was caught and hanged. The Nawab of Furruckabad surrendered; he was tried, sentenced to death, and ultimately banished. Many estates of mutinous zemindars were confiscated, and the gallows ended the miserable lives of some of the most culpable of the assassins.

Brilliant as had been the conduct of British officers and soldiers in previous campaigns in India, they never displayed so much heroism as in this prolonged contest with the mutineers. Marvellous instances of intrepidity are on record; and the patience with which long marches and exposure to the burning sun were borne, is utterly beyond all precedent. Their valour and constancy had its reward. Sir Colin Campbell, as we have already intimated, became Lord Clyde. The honours of the Bath were freely distributed to the generals and field-officers who had particularly distinguished themselves. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the troops; and appointments, of great value, were conferred upon Sir James Outram, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Edward Lugard, and others of the number who had been most conspicuous in daring operations. Not a few of the bravest men received the Victoria Cross, in recognition of their gallantry. Medals were struck to commemorate the defence and relief of Lucknow, and the capture of Delhi; and several regiments were allowed to bear the titles of their victories upon their colours. To three or four of the European corps (the 64th, 78th, and 86th), departing for England, after the work had been completed, the community of Bombay gave a magnificent banquet; and the 14th Light Dragoons received a present of a library.

The sympathy of the nation also displayed itself on a grand scale. In August, 1857, the merchant princes of London held a meeting, presided over by the Lord Mayor, for the purpose of collecting money for the relief of our suffering fellow-countrymen and countrywomen in India, whom the mutiny had plunged into poverty and distress. In an hour £10,000 were subscribed. The example was cheerfully followed throughout the entire kingdom, and contributions poured into the bankers in one uninterrupted stream of national liberality. Her majesty and the royal family headed the list; and the nobility, and all other classes, united with each other. In a short time the Indian relief fund had acquired colossal dimensions.



By the first mail that left England after the mutiny, a sum of £200,000 was remitted to Calcutta by the Lord Mayor, as the first instalment resulting from the meeting held at the Mansion-house on the previous day. Within a fortnight the Mansion-house Indian relief fund reached the sum of £35,836 13s. 8d.; and by the close of the year, the amount of subscriptions, from all sources in the country, exceeded £350,000 sterling, and was still progressing. Among the singular anomalies that were presented in the formation and course of this great national act of liberality and benevolence, it is upon record, that the East India Company, of all the corporations in the kingdom, was the only one that did not feel itself called upon to contribute to the relief fund. The plea urged by the chairman of the Court of Directors for refusal being—"That the greatest care should be taken to prevent private liberality from being damped. There were many who would refuse to subscribe if they could say that government would make good all losses. It was impossible that government could reach all cases; and he could not conceive a nobler opportunity than this for the exercise of individual charity."

In the House of Commons, on the 28th of August, Sir De Lacy Evans inquired, "whether it would be consistent with the feelings of government to give orders that the widows and children of the military and civil victims of the mutiny in India, should be brought home, free of cost, by the returning steamers and transports?"—and was informed by the chairman of the Board of Directors, that the authorities in India had been instructed to give the most ample assistance to all who were destitute, including not only the civil and military services, but all classes of the community—an announcement which was received with marked satisfaction, both by the House and the country.

Nor did the benevolence of the public end here. As soon as, in 1857, the *Colombo* arrived at Southampton with the first batch of women and children saved from the mutiny, in accordance with the regulation of the relief committee, the Lady Mayoress, accompanied by one of the under-sheriffs of London, proceeded to the vessel to carry solace and comfort to the mourners. The Mayor of Southampton, attended by the superintendents of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and by Dr. Symes, a resident in the town (who had fitted up apartments in his house for the reception of any of the destitute sufferers who would avail themselves of his hospitality), were early on board the *Colombo*. The Lady Mayoress, on reaching the deck, being conducted to a cabin by the captain, the object of her visit was communicated to the passengers with much delicacy and feeling. A correspondent, describing the interesting scene at the moment, says—"Many relatives and friends of the passengers, who had anxiously awaited their arrival, also came on board, and their meeting was an affecting sight. They embraced each other in seeming unconsciousness of the presence of strangers, and paced the deck with their arms encircling each other's waists. A great number of the passengers went ashore in one of the small steamers. A crowd of persons was in the dock; and here, also, affectionate greetings took place between long-absent friends and relatives, which drew tears from many a bystander. There were about sixty children on board the Indian mail-packet, a large portion of whom were infants in arms, all hurried out of India, on account of the fearful atrocities committed there. The scene on board the *Colombo* was very different from that which usually takes place on board homeward-bound Indian packets. The usual female passengers on board these ships are ladies in the gayest spirits, and dressed in the gorgeous silks and shawls of the East; but many of the lady passengers of the *Colombo* bore marks of great suffering and anxiety, and their dresses betokened their losses, and the rapidity of their flight from the mutinous districts. Many of these passengers escaped from Delhi, Lucknow, and other parts of Oude. Fortunately they started from these places at the commencement of the mutiny. The language of their husbands was—"Get out of the country, with the children, as soon as you can, and never mind us." Many of them have never heard anything of their husbands since. Some of the ladies escaped nearly naked; lived in the



jungle for days, with their infant children starving, and rarely able to get a handful of rice to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Few villagers were willing to assist them; and many of those who were willing were afraid to do so. Not the least interesting refugee on board the *Colombo* was a little dog. It had escaped from Delhi by faithfully following its mistress and her children; and had nearly paid a heavy penalty for its fidelity. Its back had been literally burnt by the sun, and is not healed yet. Some of the passengers give a frightful picture of the state of Calcutta, and the interior provinces of India." And by such means the excitement and sympathy of the British public, all over the land, was strengthened and sustained.

A few days after the *Colombo* had discharged her valuable burden, another vessel arrived, bringing also 150 fugitives, who had fled from the inhospitable soil of Hindostan. Many of these individuals were from Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other places in the Upper Provinces; and some had fled from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, through an undefined sense of impending evil. The scene presented at the meeting of these passengers with their friends, was one of overwhelming excitement; and many around were moved to tears by the unutterable anguish that was presented to their gaze. About forty children, many of them orphans, came by the *Indus*; and among the passengers was Lieutenant Chapman, nineteen years of age, who was shot by the mutineers at Benares, when a bullet went through his cheek, and carried away part of the roof of his mouth, so that his speech was now scarcely intelligible. Captain Montague also came home wounded in the same steamer. He belonged to the irregulars, and was in command of a company of Sikhs with General Havelock's army, and fought on the march to Cawnpore. He lost his two children from want and exposure while coming down the Ganges from Allahabad. This officer well knew Nana Sahib, and was present at a ball given by him at Cawnpore about a month before the mutiny broke out. It was the most magnificent ball ever given at Cawnpore. All the English were present, most of whom were afterwards mercilessly slain by order of their quondam host. Captain Montague and his wife left Cawnpore before it was captured by the mutineers. Amongst other reports, the passengers said that almost the only man who had escaped the massacre of Cawnpore had gone raving mad. This was an officer named Brown, who, after he got away, suffered great hardships, and lay hidden in a nullah, without food, during three days and three nights. It was also stated by them that Miss Goldie, a very beautiful young lady, was taken by Nana Sahib to his harem, and was believed to be living. Many English were still at Calcutta when the steamer left that port, who had had narrow escapes from the infuriated wretches who were devastating the English stations. These were expected to follow by successive mail-packets. Some of the passengers reported that a lady had arrived at Calcutta, previous to the departure of the steamer, who had had both her ears cut off by the rebels. This was, perhaps, one of the least horrible in the series of outrages alleged to be systematically perpetrated by the Hindoo and Mahomedan fanatics, in their wild attempts to gratify their hatred and revenge—a hatred and revenge destined soon to reap what it had sown.

Fasts were proclaimed in England and Scotland; and Cardinal Wiseman directed all good Catholics to join in a similar observance. The different religious bodies in England, unconnected with the state church, also set apart the day indicated by the royal proclamation for solemn observance, and collections in aid of the relief fund; and a committee of the general assembly of the church of Scotland sanctioned a gathering throughout their several presbyteries for the like purpose. In every case, the appeal made to the sympathies and liberality of the people was nobly responded to by the whole nation.

The religious public felt it was time for them to move. At a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in India, held at Willis's rooms, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, it was resolved—

"1. To double at least the number of the society's European missionaries in



India, and to promote, by every available means, the education, training, and ordination of the more advanced native converts for the work of the Christian ministry among their own countrymen.

"2. To found new, and strengthen existing, missions in the presidential and other principal cities of India, wherever there may appear to be the best opening, with a view to bring the truths of Christianity before the minds of the upper as well as of the lower classes in those great centres of population.

"3. To press again upon the attention of the Indian government the urgent necessity of a subdivision of the enormous dioceses of Calcutta and Madras; and especially to insist upon the desirableness of establishing a bishopric for the Punjab; another for the North-West Provinces; and a third for the province of Tinnevely."

By 1859, the mutiny in India had been so far suppressed, that, in April, it was ordered, by "her majesty in council, that his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury do prepare a form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the constant and signal success obtained by the troops of her majesty, and by the whole of the forces serving in India, whereby the late sanguinary mutiny and rebellion, which hath broken out in that country, hath been effectually suppressed; and the blessings of tranquillity, peace, and order are restored to her majesty's subjects in the East; and it is ordered that such form of prayer and thanksgiving be used in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, and in the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed." A similar order was also made, extending to Scotland.

Yet, at this very moment, a question was raised which threatened materially to disturb the promising aspect of Indian affairs. On Sunday, the 1st of May, the very day on which the people of the United Kingdom were offering their tribute of thanksgiving for the successful results of the war, a trooper of a cavalry regiment, stationed at Meerut, reported to his officer, that meetings of Bengal artillerymen and troopers of the 2nd cavalry had been held, on the subject of their transference to the crown without being re-enlisted and attested, and receiving free bounty-money—a procedure which they looked upon as illegal and unjust—and that they were deliberating upon the means to obtain a formal discharge from the service of the Company, prior to entering upon any military obligation to the crown. The importance of this communication rendered immediate steps necessary to ascertain the fact of the objection, and the extent to which it had spread among the Company's troops; and information was conveyed to General Bradford, commanding the district, who, the same day, held a council of war, at which it was decided to seize the ringleaders of the movement. Subsequently, the general had the good sense to adopt a milder course; and, on the 2nd, the garrison was ordered out, each regiment on its own parade-ground. The general, with Brigadier Horsford, then inspected the Bengal horse artillery; after which the latter officer addressed the men, expressed his regret at the information which had been forwarded to headquarters, and called upon such of them as were content to remain in the service of the queen to step forward. Although the appeal was answered by the prompt advance of about two-thirds of the men present, it was deemed advisable to deprive the corps of its small arms, and confine the men to quarters. The general then proceeded to the parade-ground of the 2nd regiment of Bengal cavalry, where a similar proceeding took place; and it was here ascertained that a plan of resistance to their regimental officers and superior commanders, had not only been organised by the malcontents, but that, at one moment, they were on the point of breaking into open hostilities against the government. Lord Clyde was telegraphed for, and calmed down the excitement by promising the men inquiry into their grievances. The men were right, and it was a pity that the authorities had made such a stupid blunder at such a time. As the men had enlisted into the East India Company's service, they were not bound to serve when that Company had ceased to exist. The discontent which had exhibited itself at Meerut was not, however, confined to that station. Allahabad, Berhampore, Lahore, and Gwalior, were equally disquieted;



and it was rumoured, and believed, that her majesty's 75th regiment, sympathising with the grievances of their new comrades in the service, intimated that it would not act against them. Ultimately, it appeared that the wise measures taken by Lord Clyde allayed the discontent.

Opinions had been expressed in the course of the mutiny, and the measures taken for its suppression, adverse to the government of Lord Canning. It was alleged that he had been supine and timid; unnecessarily curbing or suppressing the press of India; tardy in sending reinforcements to threatened points; and, subsequently, malignant and vindictive in his retributive proceedings. But the ministry, and the officials about him, knew that all these charges were utterly without foundation in fact, and owed their origin to the apprehensions of the writers, and their ignorance of the character of the man they assailed. Lord Canning was described, by one who knew him well, as a man possessed of remarkable analytic power; of great ability of investigation; of a habit of appreciating and weighing evidence; as just and moderate, and calmly judicial. His opinions once formed, were not easily, if ever, to be shaken; and his mode of investigation was elaborately careful, slow, and sure. The Secretary of State wisely resolved on retaining Lord Canning in the post of Governor-general, convinced that he possessed all the requisites for healing the wounds which rankled in India, and placing affairs upon a firm and satisfactory basis.

Lord Canning's first act was to proceed up the country, and hold durbars and *levées* among the native princes, chieftains, and zemindars, who had been loyal or friendly at a time of general defection or indifference. In Oude he restored to the landowners all their great privileges, and manifested the most perfect confidence in their future loyalty. They, on their part, recognised his sense of justice; and, in a grateful spirit, announced to him that they had resolved to banish infanticide among themselves. The Talookdars addressed Lord Canning in strains peculiarly oriental. He accepted their address for what it was worth; and, knowing that some of them had been lukewarm, and others positively hostile towards the government, he replied to them in very plain English. After enumerating the happy changes which had been wrought in Oude within two years of the extinction of mutiny, Lord Canning said—

"You have seen it proved before your eyes that there is no nation, no race or multitude of you, which can hope to brave the power of the English government with impunity.

"You have seen that those who resist or cross that government, it is sure and swift to punish; although, justice satisfied, it is eager to forgive and to forget."

The Talookdars accepted the monition with a good grace, and have not forgotten the strength or the significance of the language addressed to them by the representative of the sovereign of India.

At Agra, Lord Canning announced to the Maharajah of Gwalior, that he had determined to augment his territory to the extent of £30,000 per annum, and gave him permission to increase the strength of his army. The maharajah's arrears of tribute were further remitted; and, what was more agreeable to him than any other recompense of his fidelity in the hour of danger, he was authorised to adopt a successor in default of lineal issue. Suitable rewards were likewise bestowed upon the Rajah of Jeypore and the Nawab of Tonk, who had been found faithful amongst the faithless. On some of the princes the *Most Exalted Order of the Star of India* was conferred. This order was expressly established for the purpose of affording the princes, chiefs, and people of India a signal and public testimony of the queen's regard—a commemoration of her assumption of the government of the territories, and a means of enabling her to reward conspicuous merit and loyalty. The order is as select as that of the Garter. It consists of only twenty-seven recipients—the sovereign, the Prince of Wales (who is the grand master), and twenty-five knights. The insignia of this rare distinction may be thus described:—The collar is of gold and enamel, composed of the lotus of India, palm branches,



and the united red and white roses. In the centre of the enamel is the imperial crown. The badge suspended to the collar is an onyx cameo of Queen Victoria's effigy, set in an ornamental oval, containing the motto, "Heaven's light is our guide." The badge is surmounted by a star, in diamonds. The mantle of the order is of light-blue satin.

Among the princes and chiefs whose fidelity to their engagements the viceroy had to recognise, was her highness the Secunder Begum of Bhopal. Attired in a green kincaub tunic, and pantaloons embroidered with gold, and wearing a heavy cloth of gold around her head and shoulders, gold brooches at her neck and waist, and a pair of gloves upon her hands (in which respect she presented an exception to the other three knights of the order), her highness accepted the honour conferred upon her with becoming grace. Lord Canning accompanied the installation of the begum with these words—

"Your highness is very welcome to this durbar. I have long desired to thank you for the services which you have rendered to the queen's government.

"Your highness is the ruler of a state which is conspicuous in Indian history for never having been in arms against the British power; and lately, when that state was beset and threatened by our enemies, you, a woman, guided its affairs with a courage, an ability, and a success, that would have done honour to any statesman or soldier. Besides the great service of repressing revolt around you, and of securing the safety of all Englishmen (amongst whom was the agent of the Governor-general), you never failed to aid and expedite, to the utmost of your power, all bodies of British troops that came within your reach."

Lord Canning concluded by granting the begum the sovereignty of the district of Baireal, formerly a dependency of the state of Dhar, to which the latter had forfeited all claim by its active participation in the rebellion.

Lord Canning had now a further opportunity of distinguishing himself, by throwing open all the waste lands of India to cultivation by Europeans. The civil war in America had deprived us of our usual cotton supplies. India appeared to offer the largest field for the supply of the requisite article. A Cotton Supply Association had been formed five years previously. Large sums were subscribed in 1861, in aid of its augmented duties, and a fair prospect appeared to be opening for the remedy of the mischief resulting from the loss of the American supplies. Lord Canning saw his opportunity. He at once proclaimed the waste lands of India available for purchase by Europeans, and placed the price of land in fee-simple so low, that it was expected many men of capital and enterprise would resort to the country for purposes of settlement, and improve and extend the cultivation of the soil. Associations were formed in England to assist persons in purchasing the lands on the advantageous terms offered to the public, and a considerable amount of capital was at once embarked in an undertaking which promised to be remunerative. But the Secretary of State for India did not see fit to approve of the step taken by Lord Canning, and therefore put his veto on the regulations previously passed by the Governor-general. For reasons of state policy not fully disclosed, Sir Charles Wood further refused to allow the collectors upon the Madras establishments to remit any of the permanent revenue upon land in favour of persons who might wish to devote that land to the improvement of native cotton. "It is essential for any practical purpose," wrote the Secretary of State for India, "that the possibility of growing the improved cotton to advantage should be subjected to lands liable to the ordinary charges in India; and therefore any remission of rent is not only objectionable on principle, but renders the trial quite unsatisfactory. I therefore request that the instructions given on this subject may be withdrawn." The grand object of the government appears to have been, of late years, to reduce the amount of the state debt of India, and to realise as much immediate revenue as, combined with financial economy, would meet all the current charges, and leave a surplus. To do this may have appeared incompatible with any concessions having only a remote good in view; and hence some of the sluggishness



that has been apparent in the improvement of the growth of Indian cotton. Still a great deal has been accomplished in the right direction: and in proportion as railways increase in number, and the means of water-carriage in India are multiplied, the commercial and agricultural resources of India will doubtless receive ample development.

In 1860, the cotton imported into England from India amounted to 340,000 cwt.; in 1861, to 342,000 cwt.; and, in 1862, to 1,247,875 cwt.

In many respects the future for India promises well. Before the close of the year 1860, the capital authorised to be raised, under the government guarantee of a certain per-centage, for the construction of railways, a steam flotilla, and the irrigation of the southern territories, amounted to £38,000,000 sterling, of which nearly £32,000,000 were at once paid up. Nearly 5,000 miles of railway had in this manner been opened. In all directions India will be connected by means of the iron road.

One circumstance which essentially contributed to the railway enterprise, was the report of certain geological surveyors, who had commenced their investigation eight years previously. No fewer than 11,000 specimens of various kinds of minerals had been collected by them in that space of time; and from these were deduced unmistakable proofs of the existence of coal and other substances which enter largely into the economy of civilised life.

The telegraph has advanced as rapidly, or rather more rapidly, than the railways. India is, by means of it, only a few days' distance from London.

In 1860, the Wuzerees, a turbulent tribe, occupying a range of hills not far from Tonk, murdered a British officer—Captain Meham—and otherwise molested her majesty's subjects. The surrender of the murderers was demanded; and, no heed being taken of the demand, a force was organised, under Brigadier Chamberlain, an officer of gallantry and experience, to punish the crime, and obtain possession of the offenders. The force got through the difficult passes; frequently encountered the enemy in great numbers; and, after several battles, in which numerous Wuzerees were killed, Brigadier Chamberlain burnt their dwellings and their forts, and returned to the plains by the 16th of May, 1861. The troops under Chamberlain penetrated into an unknown territory further than we had ever done before; terrified the only great tribe which had never been chastised; and added to our *prestige* in the eyes of other clans which had long witnessed the successful defiance, by their neighbours, of British power. More than this, the veil which had covered the topography of the country was completely lifted by Major Walker, who succeeded in mapping the whole territory most accurately and fully. The last settlement captured was 7,000 feet above the sea.

The new mode of government promised well in other matters. Sir Charles Wood evinced a disposition to discharge the duties of his office with special reference to the welfare of the country, and to avail himself of the resources of the ablest men who had already become distinguished in India. Vacancies occurring in the governorships of Bombay and Madras, he conferred the former appointment upon Sir George Clark, who had proved himself a most efficient envoy in the Punjab, and afterwards as governor at the Cape of Good Hope; and the latter upon Sir Charles Trevelyan. Sir Charles was a young civilian during the Indian administration of Lord William Bentinck, and had attracted much attention by the originality and the comprehensiveness of his political views. Establishing a family connection with Lord Macaulay, the orator and historian, he returned with him to England; became an Under-Secretary of State; and manifested a large capacity in certain measures for the relief of the Irish during one of the ever-recurring potato famines. As governor of Madras, he introduced a variety of wholesome changes; simplified and economised the business of government; and gave an impetus to the course of education, and the propagation of the gospel. But he was not long in possession of the office. An indiscretion, which neither the Governor-general nor the Secretary of State could overlook, led to his recall.



To place the finances of India upon a footing that should enable the revenue to meet the expenditure, and leave a surplus, the Right Hon. James Wilson, whose familiarity with fiscal matters had raised him from the editorship of the *Economist* to the position of Secretary to the Board of Control, was sent out to India as a member of the supreme council, with special instructions to apply himself to the financial question. Mr. Wilson, after a short stay, procured an act to be passed, which imposed a tax on all persons receiving more than 200 rupees per annum, and taxes on licences; and adopted other means of increasing the resources of the government. The income-tax caused in India, as it has done everywhere else, a great outcry. Sir Charles Trevelyan deemed it objectionable on certain high grounds of state policy, and was so imprudent as to publish a minute, containing his views and sentiments. The opinion of such a man was of much weight; but it was held to be calculated to encourage the community in the hostility to the tax, which had already been openly manifested; and, upon this ground, Sir C. Wood recalled him; and subsequently, that the country might not lose the benefit of talents which were valuable when tempered by discretion, appointed him to the council of the viceroy.

Mr. Wilson dying suddenly, Mr. S. Laing, a member of parliament, much distinguished as a political economist, was appointed his successor; but, after a few months' stay, was compelled by ill-health to return to England.

One of the measures adopted by the government for the purpose of increasing the revenue of Oude, was to throw open the cultivation of opium to the people at large; and Exeter Hall was dumb.

Another measure carried into effect was an Arms Suppression Bill. As long as the natives had carried arms for mere show, the practice was not to be condemned; but where, as recently had been the case, these arms had been turned against us, it was time to interfere. The Europeans felt this as a grievance; for, to them, arms had been literally no more than a protection, and a very necessary one. The government were alive to this; and if it could have been so arranged that the one class should be allowed to retain its weapons, while the other was disarmed, without creating bitter feeling by the invidious distinction, the European might have been indulged. As it was, any partiality seemed out of the question, except in the instances in which the European chose to enrol himself as a member of one of the volunteer corps. On this condition alone the European was permitted to retain his arms, when a decree went forth disarming all the rest of the population. An Arms Bill had been found to answer in Ireland: why not in India?

A terrible calamity, in 1861, offered the new government a favourable opportunity of indicating its benevolence. The failure of the crops of 1860, owing to a paucity of rain—an evil against which it seems impossible to guard in some parts of India—induced a deplorable famine early in the ensuing year, and the people were reduced to the most horrible condition. The western part of India was the chief scene of the fearful visitation. In February, 1861, the calamity had reached so terrible a height, that the poor, incapable of walking, crawled from place to place in search of a few grains: the dead and the dying lined the roads; mothers disposed of their infant offspring by sale, without regard to the caste or creed of the parties to whose mercy they were consigned. No fewer than 40,000,000 of human beings were, more or less, affected by this awful visitation; and the cattle died in vast numbers. Never were the demands of philanthropy more imperative. The government were prompt to alleviate suffering by purchases of large quantities of grain; and its importation from the islands in the Indian seas was accelerated. Private benevolence likewise manifested its wonted activity. Famine relief funds were established in different parts of the country, and in England, and many lacs of rupees were contributed. The famine had spread through the Delhi, Meerut, and Agra divisions; and there was more or less suffering in the division north of Cawnpore, Rohilcund, beyond the Ganges, the protected Sikh states north of the Doab, and the countries west of the Jumna.



Meanwhile, the work of reconstruction and reform went on apace. A High Court of Judicature, consisting of one chief judge, and ten subordinates, was established at Calcutta. A code of laws had long been in preparation, adapted to all classes of her majesty's subjects in India; and soon an addition was made to the number of councillors at each presidency, whose exclusive duty it was to prepare new laws and regulations, as the occasion for these might arise. A penal code became law in 1862. In principle it recognised the equality of all men. Every person was made liable to punishment, without distinction of nation, rank, caste, or creed, for any crime committed within some part of British India. Under the new code, perjury, that bane of Indian society, was severely punished. The importance of protecting the natives in the exercise of their religion, and most sacred usages, was not lost sight of. Hence, uttering words with the deliberate intention of wounding the feelings of a man, or making any sound within his hearing, or any gesture in his sight, or placing any object in his view, capable of wounding his religious feelings, is punishable by imprisonment for one year, or fine, or both. The great object of this law is to allow fair latitude to religious discussion, and, at the same time, to prevent the professors of religion from offering, under the pretext of such discussion, intentional insults to what is held sacred by others. In like manner, any offence, by act, word, or gesture, calculated to insult the modesty of a woman, or intrude upon her privacy, is punishable with a year's imprisonment. In a country where many women consider themselves dishonoured by an exposure to the gaze of strangers, there was need for legislation on this subject. Tampering with weights and measures was not permitted to pass with impunity; and severe penalties were attached to the bribery of officials.

A more important matter (for, as the wise Lord Metcalfe wrote, "our power in India rests upon our military superiority") was the remodelling the army. After a great deal of discussion, and many endeavours to adjust conflicting claims, it was resolved that the whole of the Bengal, and part of the Bombay and Madras armies should be reconstructed: the regular regiments of native cavalry and infantry were extinguished. Twenty new regiments of cavalry were formed, composed of the old irregular corps, and the bodies of those so called which had remained faithful to the English. There were four European officers only appointed to each corps—a commander, a second in command, an adjutant, and a medical officer. This was a much smaller number than the old regular regiments were allowed. A special staff corps was formed. The same rule was carried out with infantry. Eleven regiments were retained in their entirety, because they had continued true to their salt. Thirty-three corps were created out of the local levies, the Sikh and Punjaub, and other infantry. The Ghoorka regiments, consisting of the gallant and trustworthy little hill-men upon the Nepaulese frontier, were augmented, and sixteen regiments were constructed of Punjaubee irregulars, each possessing four officers only. The whole of the troops were armed with smooth-bored muskets, while the Europeans retained the rifle. The aggregate of this force was much inferior in strength to the regular native infantry existing anterior to the rebellion. The deficiency was, however, more than counterbalanced by the presence of a much greater number of regiments of the firm, and to be depended on, British line than had ever been employed in India before. Previous to the outbreak, the European troops did not amount to 20,000 men of all arms. They were now augmented to fifty-seven regiments of infantry, twelve of cavalry, sixteen brigades of artillery, and a large body of engineers; making a total of nearly 40,000 European soldiers, judiciously planted in different parts of the empire, so that concentration at any given point became easy, particularly as the railways were rendering distances of comparatively little account.

The Indian navy, which, as the Bombay marine, had, in its time, rendered good service in checking the pirates of the Persian, and protecting the commerce of the Indian, seas, had latterly dwindled down to a collection of mail and other steamers, and sailing vessels. It was now deemed advisable to suppress the Indian



navy altogether; or, at all events, to reduce it to such insignificant proportions that it might no longer burden the revenue to an extent beyond its practical value. The flotilla was, therefore, essentially reduced; and the chief duties which devolved on a maritime force were transferred to the vessels and officers of her majesty's regular navy. In the histories of British India, the services rendered by the Indian navy all receive honourable mention; and the names of Willstead, Lloyd, Moresly, Lynch, Rennie, and others, will find honourable record among the brave and scientific men who belonged to the service.

The monopoly of the service was broken down. The British public had, for some time previous to the mutiny, become impatient of those arrangements which confined the government appointments to certain favoured classes; and as the army, the navy, and the civil service of England had been, more or less, thrown open to general competition, the Indian authorities were obliged to do the same. Inasmuch, however, as the Indian civil service exacts of its members a great variety of attainments; seeing that they have to fulfil the duties of judges, revenue collectors, political officers, and magistrates, and perform various other functions amongst different classes speaking different languages, holding different religious opinions, and under the influence of various prejudices, a very high standard of qualification is demanded of all successful candidates. No one is permitted to compete for a civil appointment who is under eighteen, or above twenty-two years of age, and who cannot show that he is free from all physical disorders, and enjoys a good moral character. He must be familiar with the English language, its history, and its literature, including its laws and constitution. He must be no stranger to the languages and literature of Greece, Rome, France, Italy, or Germany. Certain attainments in mathematics, natural science, logic, mental and moral philosophy, the Sanscrit and Arabic languages, are likewise considered desirable. It is not necessary that the candidate should be master of all these subjects; but a certain acquaintance with them will be of advantage in placing him in a good position among the candidates. At the end of a year, after passing a close examination in more or less of these desiderata, the candidate is subjected to a second ordeal, to pass which triumphantly, he must acquire one or more of the vernacular languages of India, manifest an acquaintance with the history and geography of the country, the general principles of jurisprudence, the elements of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, and the outlines of political economy. If the candidate should complete his twenty-fourth year without being able to reach the standard of qualification, he forfeits all chance of obtaining an appointment. Under such a competitive system, the highest abilities in the country are available for the Indian service, and ought to ensure an able executive, if it does not produce enlightened statesmen or sagacious legislators.

The examination for commissioners in the Indian branch of her majesty's army, is upon the same footing as that established for the line, artillery, and engineers.

One beneficial result of the new government was the impulse given to education in India, and thus to the spread of religion. "The books and traditions of a sect may contain," wrote Lord Macaulay, "mingled with propositions strictly theological, other propositions purporting to rest on the same authority which relates to physics. If new discoveries should throw discredit on the physical propositions, the theological propositions, unless they can be separated from the physical propositions, will share in the discredit. In this way, undoubtedly, the progress of science may indirectly serve the cause of religious truth. The Hindoo mythology, for example, is bound up with a most absurd geography. Every young Brahmin, therefore, who learns theology in our colleges, learns to smile at the Hindoo mythology." This impression, no doubt, pervaded the minds of the new writers; and, notwithstanding that certain prelates and evangelical societies were strenuous in their endeavours to have the gospel proclaimed in India, a more cautious policy obtained the preference. Sir Charles Wood very properly prohibited missionaries from being



employed in the educational department of the state. Even the clergymen of the established church were kept out of the inspectorship of schools, for fear that their zeal might outrun their discretion.

A blow, at the same time, was struck at caste. It had been discovered that there was really no connection between its usages and the laws of religion, but that the former were seized upon merely as pretexts for escaping some duty, or refusing to obey a distasteful order. Under cover of the obligations of caste, the Brahmin claimed immunity from the penalties of crime, and arrogantly held himself aloof from his fellow-men. Through the ties of a common caste, certain classes had associated together evil purposes, and obtained credit for religious sincerity; while, in reality, they were only combining for purposes of conspiracy. The law now vindicates the interests of justice by disallowing all the pleas which have not a positive warrant in the sacred books of the Mahommedan or the Hindoo. This repudiation of the claims of caste seems to have had a wonderful effect in removing obstacles to education. The Hindoos withdrew all restrictions upon the resort of their children to the public schools and colleges; and the result was, that, in 1861, at the matriculation and degree examination of the Calcutta University, there were no less than 809 candidates, of whom 722 were Hindoos. The course of examination was limited to the English language, history, geography, and mathematics. There were thirty-nine candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, thirteen of whom succeeded in obtaining it; and, out of that number, the first who attained the greatest number of marks was a Mahommedan; the next eleven were Hindoos; and the last was an Englishman from Bishop's College. This remarkable competition—and the same was observed in all the colleges in every part of India—established the fact that the Hindoo possesses singular aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge, and is eager to enter the government service. The government, of course, does all it can to cherish this zeal. It has become a rule that no one can enter the employ of the state in any department, the salary of which employment exceeds twenty-five rupees per annum, who does not pass an examination in all the rudiments of English knowledge.

In many other ways the influence of the new order of things was apparent. For instance, Madras was, for the first time, lighted with gas; English salt was imported in large quantities, to the exclusion of the wretched, costly stuff manufactured under the East India Company's monopoly; screw-press associations, for packing cotton and wool, were established at Kurrachee; judicial, revenue, and police jurisdiction was given to certain jagheerdars, in their own jagheers; newspapers and mechanics' institutes were started in every part of the country; and great numbers of the natives voluntarily embraced Christianity. Writing in 1862, the *Times*, in one of its able leaders, pointed out the wonderful change which had come over India:—"The India of to-day is a totally different country from the India of six months ago: the stiff fences which divided the official from the non-official classes have been taken down; the discouragement which pressed upon the enterprise of Europeans has been removed; the shackles which impeded the action of all who would carry capital and labour into the uncleared jungles of the peninsula, have been struck off: and the evil eye which palsied the energies of independent labour has been conjured away. All that capitalists and cultivators in India have been reasonably asking, has been done, or is in the way of being granted. All that was said to be impossible or ridiculous, is quietly being done. Property in India, even in a few months, has sprung up like the grass, upon a spot from which a huge stone has been rolled away. Under the influence of a new government, and a healthy administration, the vast deficits and the impending bankruptcy have disappeared; the financial condition of the country has become sound; and in a land where the common rate of interest was, a short time ago, 12 per cent., the public  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. stock of the government is bought, by native buyers, at more than 8 per cent. premium. Meanwhile, the railways are advancing; the East Indian has opened another link, and gives promise to join the



old and distant city of Benares with Calcutta before this year goes out: another line advances from Calcutta to the Sunderbunds, where it will rout out the tigers, and turn the salt jungly swamps into cotton-fields. If we may believe all these appearances, India is starting upon a career of prosperity which has no visible halting-place; and we have the satisfaction of knowing, that it is to our British rule, and to the sagacity of our British statesmen, who have been firm to overthrow the ancient errors of her governors, that she owes her quick revival.

"Amid these causes for congratulation, it is a light thing that the half-mongrel savages of the north-east of Bengal have been found plundering our new settlers; and that the troubles in Darjeeling are, to some extent, removed. This is but the old story. Had Mr. Grant introduced the police, as he was directed to do more than a year ago, their very presence would have prevented the risings in Assam, and would have calmed the excitement of the indigo districts. Tea-planters and cotton-growers would have been prudent in drawing back from speculation in such districts, if these interruptions were to be feared continually. But neither Mr. Grant, nor the system of Mr. Grant, is any longer dominant in this great province of India. The hill-men and jungle wallahs will no longer receive tacit encouragement to oppose themselves to the spread of improvements in the wastes of Bengal; and the action of a newly organised police will soon give security to industry, both native and foreign. From predatory savages, these tribes will soon, under firm and equitable treatment, become useful labourers. Already the Hindoo labourer has risen immensely in the scale of existence, and has come to experience that life may be something better than a struggle against starvation. 'The only obstacle,' says our Calcutta correspondent, 'to the progress of planting, is the want of labour; and it should not be so difficult to induce the Kokees, Cossyas, Abors, Nagas, and other Indo-Chinese tribes, to become peaceful and wealthy labourers or agriculturists.'"

Yet we must not be over-confident. Prosperity and civilisation in India may, in many ways, tend to shake our power. Previous to the mutiny, a feeling of nationality had sprung up—the indirect consequence of British rule. The results of long years of internal tranquillity and good order, under a powerful government, were to fuse into a whole the previously discordant elements of native society, and to bind together, by a bond of common country and language, those whom we had been in the habit of considering as effectually separated by race, religion, and caste. The Indian Mahomedans became gradually Hindooised, and their ancient antipathy disappeared; and thus the safeguard, as we deemed it—and as, undoubtedly, it was—to their union for attacking us was removed. "The day," writes Mr. Edwards, "has, in my opinion, gone by when any mixture of races, castes, or creeds in our native army, can afford any real or permanent safeguard against mutiny and rebellion." We are regarded in India as conquerors; and Mr. Edwards thinks, the more the people become enlightened and civilised, the more earnest, in all probability, will be their efforts to get rid of us. "As an illustration," he observes, "of native feeling, I may state, that the night the tidings of the Cawnpore massacre reached us, in our asylum at Kussoorah, in Oude, the Thakoors eagerly discussed the conduct of the Nana—the 'Peshwah,' as they termed him—with evident feelings of respect. The prevailing sentiment was, that he had been clearly right in attempting to throw off the power of the British; but that he had erred in cruelly killing women and children. He ought, they said, to have marched all the Europeans at Cawnpore, with all he could pick up on the way, to Calcutta; there put them on board their ships, and send them off, saying, 'We have had quite enough of you, and we wish to see you no more. If any of your nation ever come back again to Hindostan, we shall kill you all.'" We almost fear Mr. Edwards is right, when he considers we are quite mistaken as to the effect of the co-operation of the natives of India in measures for the general civilisation and improvement of the country. He observes—"Those who expect such co-operation, appear to me to keep out of view the wide and insurmountable barrier which



interposes between Christianity and false religion. Natives professing such opposite creeds can never amalgamate—never associate together—never co-operate, in any cordial or permanent manner, for any objects whatever. Each is running in its own separate gauge—the one broad, the other narrow; and they can no more amalgamate than light and darkness. What we have to bear in mind is this—that our presence in India as a Christian and civilised power, *must*, from the nature of the case, produce disturbance, dislike, and hatred among natives who, for ages, have lived in the darkness of heathenism; and that physical and moral improvements are equally calculated, as the most direct efforts to evangelise the country, to produce convulsion.”

We hasten to bring our sketch of Indian affairs down to the present time. The health of Lord Canning had been so much shattered by the anxieties and toils of his viceregal office, that he lived but a very few weeks after his arrival in England, in 1862. He was succeeded, as we have already stated, by Lord Elgin, who found the affairs of India in a comparatively satisfactory state.

For nearly a twelvemonth after his arrival in India, Lord Elgin remained at Calcutta, making himself acquainted with the condition of affairs, and following up, with wisdom and energy, the measures introduced by his predecessor, and the legislative councils and law-makers. He then arranged for a journey to the north, that he might see the princes and chiefs who had been addressed by Lord Canning, and repeat the assurances of confidence which had been so cordially received at the durbars held by his lordship. It must be premised, that previous to the mutiny, intercourse between the head of the government and the true aristocracy of India had been infrequent; and while opportunity was thus afforded for the fomenters of intrigue and treachery, the governors-general had deprived themselves of the means of acquiring the friendship and support of a body of chieftains, who were powerful for evil or good.

Lord Elgin spent six days in Agra, in receiving the potentates of India at private and public durbars; the great durbar being attended by a larger number of chiefs than ever before assembled for a similar purpose. Upon the latter occasion he thus addressed his friendly visitors:—

“Peace—I hardly need remind you of the fact—now happily prevails throughout the whole extent of this vast empire. Domestic treason has been crushed; and foreign enemies have been taught to respect the power of the arms of England.

“The British government is desirous to take advantage of this favourable opportunity, not to extend the bounds of its dominions, but to develop the resources, and draw forth the natural wealth of India; and thus to promote the well-being and happiness both of rulers and the people.

“With this view, many measures of improvement and progress have already been introduced; and among them I may name, as most conspicuous, the railway and electric telegraph—those great discoveries of this age, which have so largely increased the power of the mightiest nations of the west.

“By diffusing education among your vassals and dependents, establishing schools, promoting the construction of good roads, and suppressing, with the whole weight of your influence and authority, barbarous usages and crimes—such as infanticide, suttee, thuggee, and dacoitee—you may, princes and chiefs, effectually second these endeavours of the British government, and secure for yourselves and your people a full share of the benefits which the measures to which I have alluded are calculated to confer upon you. I have observed, with satisfaction, the steps which many of you have already taken in this direction, and more especially the enlightened policy which has induced some of you to remove transit and other duties, which obstructed the free course of commerce through your states.

“As representing the paramount power in India, it is my duty to keep the peace here. For this purpose, her majesty has placed at my disposal a large and gallant army, which, if the necessity should arise, I will not hesitate to employ



for the suppression of disorder, and the punishment of any who may be rash enough to disturb the general tranquillity. But it is also my duty to extend the hand of fellowship and encouragement to all who labour for the good of India; and to assure you, that the chiefs who make their own dependents contented and prosperous, establish thereby the strongest claims on the favour and protection of the British government.

"I bid you now, princes and chiefs, farewell for a time, with the expression of my earnest hope that, on your return to your homes, health and happiness may attend you."

Lord Elgin then held a durbar at Umballah, near the foot of the Himalayan range, where he called together the influential Sikh chiefs, whose martial qualities it was his wish to recognise with all due honour, while seeking to impart a more pacific direction to their energies. The capture of Pekin, in which some of their race had had a share, had impressed them with a deep sense of the importance and the power of England. Lord Elgin addressed them accordingly.

"Colonel Durand,—I beg that you will express to the native gentlemen assembled here, my regret that I am unable to address them in their own language; and inform them, that I am charged by her majesty the queen, to convey to them the assurance of her majesty's high appreciation of the loyalty and devotion to her majesty's person and government, which has been exhibited, on various occasions, by the Sikh rulers and people. Not many days ago, it was my pleasing duty to determine, that the medal granted to her majesty's troops who were engaged at Delhi in 1857, should be conferred on the followers of the Sikh chiefs who took part in the noble achievement of that period: and I can personally bear testimony to the good services of the officers and men of the Sikh regiments, who, in 1860, co-operated with the British troops in placing the British flag on the walls of Pekin, the capital of the vast empire of China.

"But in order to be truly great, it is necessary that nations should excel in the arts of peace, as well as in those of war.

"Look to the history of the British nation for an example. Most assuredly the British people are powerful in war; but their might and renown are, in a great measure, due to their proficiency in the works which make a time of peace fruitful and glorious.

"By their skill in agriculture they have converted their country into a garden; by their genius as traders, they have attracted to it a large share of the wealth of other lands.

"Let us now take advantage of this season of tranquillity to confer similar benefits on the Punjaub.

"The waters which fall on your mountain heights, and unite at their base to form mighty rivers, are a treasure, which, duly distributed, will fertilise your plains, and largely augment their productive powers. With electric telegraphs to facilitate communication, and railways and canals to render access to the seaports easy and expeditious, we shall be able to convey the surplus produce of this great country to others where it may be required, and to receive from them their riches in return.

"I rejoice to learn that some of the chiefs in this part of India are taking an interest in these matters, which are of such vital importance to the welfare of this country, and the prosperity of the people. It affords me, moreover, sincere gratification to find, that under the able guidance of the lieutenant-governor, the Sikh sirdars, in certain districts of the Punjaub, are giving proofs of their appreciation of the value of education, by making provision for the education of their sons and daughters.

"Be assured that, in so doing, you are adopting a judicious policy. The experience of all nations proves, that where rulers are well-informed and sagacious, the people are contented, and willingly submissive to authority. Moreover, it is generally found, that where mothers are enlightened, sons are valiant and wise.



"I earnestly exhort you, therefore, to persevere in the course on which you have entered; and I promise you, while you continue in it, the sympathy and support of the British government."

When, in 1863, Lord Elgin departed from Calcutta for a tour, a meeting was held in that city, which demonstrated that, under the new rule, matters were progressing favourably: 8,000 of the principal inhabitants signed an address, expressing their high sense of gratitude for the wise and beneficent policy which had distinguished the administration of the last five years—"A policy," continued the address, "which has nobly sustained the authority and dignity of her majesty's government in her Indian dominions; strengthened, by new bonds of attachment, the confidence and sympathy of the princes and chiefs of the country; and, above all, sought to govern the empire in consonance with justice, and the interests of the teeming millions."

Peace was now universal in the British dominions; but there were still some marauding tribes in the distant north-west frontier, who required to be put down. These tribes, composed entirely of Mussulmans, occupied fortresses on the western bank of the Indus, whence they issued to plunder the industrious inhabitants and travellers in their vicinity. To chastise these marauders, Lord Elgin despatched an adequate force. Unfortunately, it passed through a district settled by the Bonair tribes. They, imagining evil intentions on the part of the British government, offered a strenuous opposition to the advance of our arms. There was fierce fighting for a couple of days; at the end of which time, the Bonairs, becoming aware that we intended them no harm, joined the British detachments, and assisted our troops in punishing the plundering tribes.

As we have already said, Lord Elgin died in India: he was succeeded by the one man—Sir John Lawrence—whose extraordinary administrative abilities, and magnificent services, had marked him, in the opinion of the public, as the future ruler of India. His daring, his energy, his integrity; his lofty sense of justice; his familiarity with the character, habits, prejudices, and language of the people; the awe and respect with which he was regarded in India—all fitted him pre-eminently for the exalted post.

The present Viceroy of India was born in Yorkshire, on the 4th of March, 1811. He came of a good stock. "About half-past one o'clock in the afternoon [of the 4th of May, 1799], General Baird, having completed his arrangements, stepped out of his trench, drew out his sword, and, in the most heroic and animating manner, said to his men—'Come, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy the name of British soldiers!' In an instant both columns rushed from the trenches, and entered the bed of the river, under cover of the fire of the batteries. Being immediately discovered by the enemy, they were assailed by rockets and musketry. The forlorn hope of such an attack consisted of a sergeant and twelve Europeans, who were followed by two subalterns' parties: that of the right column was commanded by Lieutenant Hill, of the 74th; and the other, of the left column, by Lieutenant Lawrence, of the 77th." Thus wrote, says Mr. Kaye, in the first year of the present century, Colonel Alexander Beatson (historian of the war with Tippoo Sultan, and of the famous siege of Seringapatam), of these two lion-hearted subalterns, who had thus volunteered for the forlorn hope. The first-named went to his death; the second came out of the breach badly wounded, but alive. Having recovered from his wounds, Alexander William Lawrence took to himself a wife—the daughter of a Protestant clergyman in the north of Ireland, named Knox. Their union was a fruitful one. The first-born of the family was a daughter, who, in womanhood, became all that an elder sister could be to her brothers, and whose good influence upon them was ever gratefully acknowledged. Three sons followed. In time, Major Lawrence returned to England, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel to a garrison battalion then posted in the island of Guernsey. In a few years afterwards, Colonel Lawrence bethought himself that the time had come for placing his boys out in life; and he wisely determined to



find, if he could, standing-room for them in the great continent of India, where every man had a fair chance, without reference to birth or fortune, of making his way to the front. Fortunately, he had some interest at the East India House. A connection of Mrs. Lawrence's family, Mr. Huddleston, was one of the directors of the East India Company; and thus one son after another found his way to fame and fortune.

Shortly after Sir John Lawrence had proceeded to assume the government, the Secretary of State for India made his statement in the House of Commons, respecting the financial, commercial, and agricultural condition of India. The details presented astounding proofs of the prosperity of India. The surplus revenue was £257,000; nine millions sterling of the debt of India had been liquidated; the revenue derived from the opium cultivation amounted to £8,055,000; the cotton crop consisted of 160,000,000 lbs. In 1858-'59, in the normal state of India, before the rebellion, the coffee imported into England amounted to 11,000,000 lbs.; in 1864, to 21,000,000 lbs. Indigo, in the same time, ran up from 9,000,000 to 11,000,000 lbs. Jute had received an immense impetus; and the exports of wool had increased from 15,000,000 to 21,000,000 lbs. The value of the tea grown in Assam was, in 1858-'59, £60,000; in 1863, it had reached £223,000. In return for the exports, India had received, in five years, no less than £60,000,000 in silver, and £25,000,000 in gold bullion, the greater part of which was applicable to household and decorative purposes. Finally, a material addition to the vegetable wealth of the country had been made in the cultivation of the cinchona plant, a South American exotic, which yields quinine.

Sir John Lawrence found the local government of India in a very effective working condition. The native members of the legislative council had taken a very active part in legislation, and expressed their opinions freely at the council board. The number of native councillors was, in 1864, sixteen; of whom eight belonged to the council of the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, five to that of Bombay, and three were members of the Madras council.

To test the friendship of the people, Sir John Lawrence, in 1864, held a durbar, the like of which had never been known before. At Lahore, upwards of 600 princes and chieftains attended. The scene was one of unparalleled grandeur. North of the city of Lahore, between the walls of the fort and the Ravee, which flows by the city, stretches a level plain, green with close turf, and studded here and there with clumps of dark-leaved trees. Here the magnificent and spacious tents for the durbar of the viceroy had been pitched. At the extreme end was the throne, on a raised dais spread with cloth of gold, and covered with a rich crimson canopy. At each side of the throne, and ranged in the form of an ellipse, stood the rajahs, chiefs, and native gentry, all gaily attired. There was the Maharajah of Cashmere, the province so celebrated, in poetry and romance, for the exquisite texture of its shawls, and the beauty of its women: the Maharajah of Puttiala, the splendour of whose Court was only eclipsed by the magnificent example of fidelity to his engagements, which he afforded during the perilous crisis of the great insurrection; and many lesser known, but equally faithful notabilities. Blazing with diamonds, emeralds, and pearls, and arranged in superb robes, which put the stiff fashions of European Courts to shame, they went to the durbar, in a style of which the written narrative gives but a poor idea. Sir John Lawrence addressed the chiefs in the Hindoo language. "It is something," wrote a newspaper correspondent, "to have a Governor-general who can address the chiefs in a language they can understand; it creates a link only second to that which is formed by identity of race. If, when his excellency presented the Star of India to the Rajah of Kupperoortulla, he had addressed him in English, his words, so well calculated to inspire all his hearers with a feeling of emulation, would have lost much of their force in being translated by the interpreter." After the speech the various presentations were made; and when the last sirdar had been introduced, tokens of honour were conferred on twenty of the leading chiefs.



During the ceremony, the pipers of the 93rd Highlanders, whose cheering notes had once aroused the drooping energies of the troops cooped up in Lucknow, played a variety of spirit-stirring tunes, which much exhilarated the native chiefs, to whose ears the pipe sounded as some of their own native music.

On the day following the durbar, Sir John Lawrence officially opened the first section of the Punjab railway line, from Lahore to Mooltan, expatiating, in a suitable public address, upon the political and commercial improvement which the line was calculated to produce. A dinner was given, on the occasion, to 120 European *employés* on the line; and an eye-witness remarked—"The durbar, at which the viceroy received 600 princes and chiefs in a splendid tent, pitched on a vast plain, was doubtless a magnificent sight; but we regarded the assembly of a hundred hard-handed, plain English mechanics in an ordinary railway waiting-room, erected in the ancient Sikh capital, as far more curious and suggestive, and one calculated to excite emotions of a more pleasurable nature. The one was a mere pageant, representative of the barbaric splendour of the dark ages; while the other was the living embodiment of progress and enlightenment."

One little war marks this period of our Indian history. It was a war of ignorance, not of discontent.

At the foot of the western Himalayas lies a strip of territory, called Bhootan, lying directly north of Lower Bengal, conterminous with the province of Assam. Since 1774, the British had held no intercourse with this state, which is, indeed, composed of people scarcely removed from barbarism. Early in 1864, a mission, or embassy, was sent to Bhootan, consisting only of four European gentlemen, and 200 coolie attendants. The object of the mission was to demand the surrender of several British subjects, who had been seized by the Bhootan hill-men; the restoration of plundered property, and security for the future peace of the frontier. The Bhootan chief received the message with savage insolence; grossly maltreated the envoy and his suite; and only released the former upon his promising that a British province should be ceded to him. The government, of course, could not confirm such an agreement. On the contrary, it was immediately repudiated, and a force equipped to obtain satisfaction for the outrageous insult offered to the embassy. The satisfaction took the form of the seizure of certain districts, and of the occupation of the passes between the highlands of Bhootan and the British territory.

One extract from a letter will show the difficult nature of the task in which our troops had to engage. The writer says—"I send off a few lines, just to tell you that we took this famous place (Dalimkote) the day before yesterday, not, I am sorry to say, without serious loss: the Bhootans having fought with much more courage and resolution than we expected; and the fort being naturally and artificially strong, and in a most commanding position. We were opposed nearly all the way up the hill, and could only proceed by a narrow tortuous road, constantly exposed to showers of arrows and stones, both of which the Bhootans threw with great force and precision. The column got up close to the fort without any serious loss: but then there stood the fort before us, on a hill about two hundred feet high, surrounded by a thick wall of about thirty feet elevation. We soon brought our small mortars into position; and were getting on very well with the work—throwing shells and carcasses into the fort at about a couple of hundred yards' range, when, from a fuse being too short cut, the shell burst in the muzzle of the mortar, and exploded a quantity of powder which poor Griffin was weighing out for the charge; and, in an instant, three officers—Griffin, Anderson, and Waller—and some artillery close by, were blown to atoms. This was a terrible catastrophe to the whole force, and had nearly been far worse, as our esteemed and gallant Brigadier Dunsford was within a yard of the group, having only that instant left poor Griffin to give some orders to Captain Perkins, of the engineers. By this untoward calamity the force lost the services of three most excellent officers and seven men, and also one of their mortars, which became utterly unserviceable. With great difficulty, and after some delay, an Armstrong gun was brought up the



hill, and was soon placed in position, and brought to play upon the confronting bastion, and, with a carcass, set fire to the buildings inside the fort. This the general thought an auspicious signal and time for an assault; and, having got the scaling-ladders up, the storming party made a rush, and carried the place at once, the Bhootans bolting out on the opposite side. Dalimkote is a fearfully strong place, and was not taken without several casualties—the general having had several men shot close to his side, and not a few narrow escapes. Our work is not completed yet, as we have one more fort to take—that of Dhurm Sing—said to be nearly as strong as this, but not in such a commanding and difficult position. Our loss has been heavy; but, considering the important result, and the rapid way in which it was obtained, I do not think it disproportionate if we deduct those killed by the unfortunate explosion. Collins, of the engineers, is wounded severely—both his legs having been broken by the explosion; McGregor, the general's brigademajor, slightly wounded on the scalp by a gun-shot; and Loughman, of the 18th native infantry, wounded by an arrow through his right arm. We have, besides, eight men killed, and forty-six wounded. We were at it from ten in the morning until six in the evening; and you may imagine that we were not sorry when the affair was over, and the fort in our possession. We are not enamoured of hill and jungle warfare, where the highest military skill, and the best soldiers, may be employed with comparatively inadequate results."

In taking leave of India, we must not omit the violent cyclone in the Bay of Bengal, in November, 1864, which extended along the coast from Calcutta nearly to Madras. The waters of the Ganges were driven back by the wind, and submerged a large portion of the Sonderbunds. The island of Saugur was inundated, and 7,000, out of a population of 8,500 persons, were drowned. But the greatest suffering was experienced at Masulipatam, where the sea broke over the land along a space of more than eighty miles; and, in some places, to a distance of seventeen miles inland—destroying villages, crops, and cattle; filling up the wells; and, as the waters broke in during the night, allowing little chance of escape to the wretched inhabitants. The total loss of life, during this terrible night, was estimated at not less than from 60,000 to 70,000 souls. On the flood retiring, the number of bodies of men and animals left behind was so great, that but for the strenuous exertion of the English in burying and burning them, and providing food and shelter for the surviving population, an infectious fever would have followed close upon the previous calamity.

Here we close our summary of Indian history. We see it fruitful, prosperous, and at peace: no longer the heritage of a trading Company, but under the sway of Queen Victoria. Under the old Company's rule wonders had been wrought: warlike races had been subdued; native princes dethroned; and a great empire founded. But it had long been felt that India, in order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must, as Lord William Bentinck wrote, be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the 800 or 1,000 individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. They had been found totally incompetent to the charge; and, in their hands, administration in all its civil branches—revenue, judicial, and police—had been a failure. The Indian government, as compared with that of England, says Mr. Ludlow, has been, emphatically and admittedly, a middle-class government: often a stepping-stone to aristocratic rule at home. More peers' robes have been won in India than carried thither; and, accordingly, its faults have been, in great measure, middle-class faults—the grasping after wealth; the hastening to be rich; the narrowness of view; and not a little of the arrogance of the purse—the vulgar assumption of superiority. A change was called for, and the mutiny accelerated it. And thus India passed under the sway of one who holds

"A nobler office upon earth  
Than arms, or power of brain, or birth,  
Could give the warrior kings of old."

Let us hope a bright future under the new rule. We have, in India, an immense



garden of incalculable fertility, from which to draw all the raw produce that our manufactories can need : myriads of willing and industrious hands to bring it forth ; and myriads of ready-found customers for all the handiwork of our operatives at home. The cause of the welfare of the people of India, is the cause of the welfare of the people of England. We suffer here for misgovernment there. English apathy and indifference in India produce want and discontent. The better we do our duty to India, the dearer and more valuable will India be to us.

## CHAPTER XI.

### HOW THE PALMERSTON MINISTRY FELL.

WHEN parliament met, in 1858, it seemed as if Lord Palmerston would carry everything before him. It was not so : and why it was not so we will now proceed to tell.

In a letter written, in 1835, to his friend Senior, the late Archbishop of Dublin wrote—"By what I can learn, the 'measures not men' party, or 'fair trialites,' seem to gain ground ; the principle of it being, I conceive, that the king may, now-a-days, please himself as to ministers, since it is no longer they, but the reformed parliament that governs the country. A minister will no longer go out as soon as he fails to carry any measure ; but will act the part of a cook at an hotel, who proposes a dinner, but offers to send up any dishes the company like better. If this state of things be established, it will be the greatest practical result of a reformed parliament. One consequence will be, that men of the highest character will no longer take office. A minister used to be a stage-coachman, who drove, at a certain fixed hour, and a settled road, those who chose to go by his coach : now he will be a gentleman's coachman, who drives where and when his master bids him. They will only accept office for private pay and patronage. The evil resulting will be—no one responsible, unless a law is passed to make every M.P. responsible individually for every motion he makes. Another will be—a sort of unsteady yawning course of the state ship. Mr. Ward will carry a measure to-night, and Sir Robert Peel another a week after ; and Lord Stanley a different one afterwards : so that our legislature will be a more motley 'picnic' than ever."

About this time the state ship pursued what Whately calls an unsteady yawning course.

On the evening of the 14th of January, as the Emperor Napoleon and the empress had just arrived at the door of the opera in Paris, three explosions of shells were heard. Neither the emperor nor the empress were touched, though the hat of the former was broken to pieces, and the carriage in which they sat was much shattered. A great number of the crowd were wounded—some of them mortally so. Two persons were killed on the spot ; six others died in consequence of their wounds ; and 156 persons were, more or less, injured. Their majesties, on entering the opera, were received with the warmest enthusiasm ; and, on leaving it at midnight, they found the boulevards illuminated in honour of their escape. Several arrests were made during the night ; and amongst the persons taken were Felice Orsini, and another Italian named Pierri. On the person of the latter was found a six-shot revolver, a grenade, similar to those which were hurled at the carriage, and a poniard.

The attempt was followed by an expression, on the part of a portion of the French people and press, of much ill-will towards this country, where it was said that the conspiracy against the life of the emperor had been projected. The president of the senate, in the course of his address of congratulation to the



emperor on his escape, observed—"The revolutionary spirit having been driven from France, has settled down abroad, and become cosmopolite. It is from foreign strongholds, erected against France, situated in the centre of Europe, that fanatical, hired assassins are sent, with fire and steel, against the prince who bears on his powerful arm the buckler of European order—execrable conspirators, whose policy is assassination; and who even assault gentle women, unaware that some of them have the hearts of heroes! But how comes it that, as these implacable revolutionists trample all the duties of hospitality under foot, and are united in their mad plans of destruction, foreign governments and peoples do not take measures to give a legitimate support to the cause of order? The law of nations authorises it; justice and common sense make it a duty." Count de Morny said, that "the members of the legislative body, when they saw such abominable attempts prepared abroad, asked themselves how neighbouring and friendly governments were powerless to destroy those laboratories of assassination?—and how the laws of hospitality could be applied to wild beasts?" M. Baroche hoped that "the community of danger would lead to a natural and extensive solidarity between all nations; and that those cowardly assassins who abused the hospitality they found in friendly nations, and the protection afforded by their laws, in order to organise conspiracies and construct infernal machines, would be at length, by mutual consent, driven out of civilised Europe, to which they were at the same time a danger and a disgrace."

Further addresses, reflecting on the protection given by England to exiles, and on the freedom of the French and Belgian press, appeared in the official *Moniteur*. But the addresses presented to the emperor by the army, were remarkable for the unmitigated hostility to England, expressed in them all. Selections from them were published in the *Moniteur*, with an intimation that it might be useful for the country to be aware of the spirit that animated the army. We select a few passages. "In expressing our wishes that your majesty's life, so intimately connected with the repose and prosperity of France, may be for ever preserved from all parricidal attempts, it does not suffice the army to form a rampart round its sovereign; it is ready to shed its blood *in all places, to reach and annihilate the partisans of regicide*."—"The army is afflicted that powerful friends, whose brave armies so lately combated by our side, cover with their protection, under the name of hospitality, conspirators and assassins, who exceed those that have gone before them in all that is odious."—"This odious and cowardly attempt has filled our hearts with indignation and wrath against those who become the *accomplices* of these sanguinary conspirators, by giving them an asylum."—"Those wild beasts who, at periodical epochs, quit a foreign soil to inundate the streets of your capital with blood, inspire us with no other feelings than those of disgust; and if your majesty wants soldiers to get at these men, *even in the recesses of their den*, we humbly beseech you to choose the 82nd regiment [the one from which this address emanated] as part of the advanced guard of that army." The national guard of the Seine protested "against the asylum accorded to vile scoundrels, whom all civilised nations ought to brand and drive from their territory." The 19th military division declared, that "the odious and cowardly attempt had filled their hearts with indignation and rage against those who, by giving an asylum to the sanguinary anarchists, made themselves their accomplices." The address of certain colonels of the line went still further: they expressed their readiness to march to England, and drag forth the criminals from their asylum, if the English government would not expel them.

The emperor, apparently, showed no desire to join in the manifestations made by his officers and the people. He and the empress attended the ball given by Lord Cowley in honour of the marriage of the princess-royal, on the evening of her marriage-day, when her majesty wore a dress trimmed à l'*Ecossais*, especially in compliment to the royal bride; and the emperor wore the order of the Garter. The members of the imperial family, all the French ministers, the marshals of France, and the high, social, and legal functionaries, were present.



About the same time, a brass field gun—one of the most perfect specimens produced, up to that time, in the royal gun-foundry at Woolwich arsenal, mounted on a suitable carriage—with ammunition waggon, and a couple of limbers, made of fine old English oak, were presented by the queen, as “a mark of her esteem to his imperial majesty, Napoleon III.” Notwithstanding the reciprocal feelings of regard and friendship thus evinced by the sovereigns for each other, the passions of their subjects were very near causing a rupture between the two countries. The language of the French army and the French press produced violent retaliatory articles and speeches in England; and when, on the 27th of January, the *Moniteur* published the addresses from the French troops, containing the language we have quoted, Lord Palmerston evidently thought it was time to interfere. The Earl of Clarendon, accordingly, called the attention of Count Persigny to the subject, pointing out the effect which the addresses had on the English people, and the construction which would inevitably be placed upon the publication of such documents in the official paper of the French government. The count immediately communicated this conversation to M. Walewski, who, on the 6th of February, replied to the ambassador. He pointed out the opposition of the addresses to “the language which the emperor’s government had not ceased to hold to that of her Britannic majesty; and, attributing the appearance of the objectionable words to inadvertence, caused by the number of the addresses, added—“The emperor enjoins you to say to Lord Clarendon how much he regrets it.” This despatch, read in both Houses of parliament, and published in the papers, caused the feeling in England, roused by the military addresses, to subside.

At the opening of the French legislative chamber, the emperor did not forget to allude to the attempt which had been made upon his life. After speaking of the internal affairs of France, he referred to its navy, which, he said, was acting in China with the English fleet, “to obtain redress for common grievances, and to avenge the blood of our missionaries, who have been cruelly massacred.” Napoleon then declared that the relations of France with foreign powers were never on a better footing; and that he was convinced, at Osborne as well as at Stuttgart, his desire to keep up the intimacy of old relations, as well as to form new ones, was equally shared by the chiefs of two great nations. In reviewing the position of France, he said it adopted the great and civilising principle of 1789; but that it was the enemy of every abstract theory. “Moreover, there is a truth inscribed upon every page of the history of France and England—namely, that liberty without obstacles is impossible, as long as there exists in a country a faction which obstinately disowns the fundamental basis of the government; for then liberty, instead of enlightening, controlling, ameliorating, is nothing else, in the hands of factions, but a weapon of destruction. Therefore, as I did not accept the power of the nation with the view to acquire that ephemeral popularity—the paltry prize of concessions exacted from weakness—but with a view, one day, to deserve the approbation of posterity, by founding something lasting in France, I do not fear to declare to-day to you, that the danger, no matter what is said to the contrary, does not exist in the excessive prerogatives of power, but rather in the absence of repressive laws.” Finally, the emperor observed, that the recent attempt on his life did not shake his security in the present, or his faith in the future. “If I live,” he remarked, “the empire will live with me; and if I should fall, my very death would only tend to strengthen the empire; for the indignation of the people and of the army would be an additional support to the throne of my son. Let us attend calmly to our daily work, for the welfare and the greatness of our country.”

The emperor then, fortified by his subjects, and perhaps alarmed at the numerous attempts on his life, made a claim on this country, which led to no little unpleasantness. As we have shown, he extolled highly repressive laws; and he attempted still more in that direction. Foreign journals, especially those of England and Belgium, were excluded from France; and the Belgian government



was required to put down two papers published at Brussels. Nor was this all: the French government aimed at the destruction of that hospitality which the free states of Europe, especially England, were in the habit of extending to political exiles of all opinions. On the 22nd of January, Count Walewski sent a note to England, Belgium, Sardinia, and Switzerland, demanding, in the name of the government of France, certain measures respecting refugees, which might prevent the renewal of attempts at assassination.

In the address to M. de Persigny, his attention was called to the circumstances connected with the attempt on the emperor's life; and the foreign minister reminded him, that that attempt, like those of Pianori, and the plot in which Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, and Campanelli directed the assassins whom they had furnished with arms, had been devised in England. At the same time, M. Walewski declared, that "the government of the emperor was persuaded of the sincerity of the sentiments of reprobation which they created in England. He was equally convinced, that with such proofs in their possession of the abuse of hospitality, the English government and people would understand at once to what extent France was justified in directing their attention to them. Appreciating the liberality with which England was disposed to exercise the right of asylum in regard to foreigners—the victims of political struggles—yet, when assassination was elevated to a doctrine, preached openly, and practised in repeated attempts, the French government felt it a duty to ask—"Ought the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Was hospitality due to assassins? Ought English legislation to continue to favour their designs and plans? And could it continue to shelter persons who, by their flagrant acts, had placed themselves beyond the pale of common right, and under the ban of humanity?" In putting these questions, Count Walewski said he was only re-echoing the sentiments of France. He refrained in any way from indicating the measures which ought to be adopted; but as the repetition and the wickedness of the guilty enterprises exposed France to a danger, against which he and his colleagues were bound to provide, they asked her Britannic majesty's government to assist them by affording a guarantee of security, which no state could refuse to a neighbouring one, and which France was authorised to expect from an ally.

About the same time, Count de Persigny, the French ambassador in England, took the opportunity afforded by an address from the corporation of London, congratulating the emperor on his escape from the recent attempt on his life, to explain to the English public the position which he took upon the subject. "Permit me," said he, "to tell you what is the true question. It does not lie in the attempts at assassination in themselves, nor even in the crime of the 14th of January, which your government would have hastened to have warned us of, if it could have known it beforehand: the whole question is in the moral situation of France, which has become anxiously doubtful of the real sentiments of England. Reasoning in effect by analogy, popular opinion declares, that were there in France men sufficiently infamous to recommend, in their clubs, in their papers, in their writings of every kind, the assassination of a foreign sovereign, and actually to prepare its execution, a French administration would not wait to receive the demands of a foreign government, nor to see the enterprise set on foot. To act against such conspiracies, to anticipate such crimes, public notoriety would be sufficient to set our law in motion; and measures of security would be taken immediately. Well, then, France is astonished that nothing of a like nature should have taken place in England; and Frenchmen say, 'Either the English law is sufficient, as certain lawyers declare—and why, then, is it not applied?—or it is insufficient, which is the opinion of other lawyers; and, in this case, why does not a free country, which makes its own laws, remedy this omission?' In one word, France does not understand, and cannot understand this state of things; and in that resides the harm; for she may mistake the sentiments of her ally, and no longer believe in her sincerity." In reality, Count Persigny held out a threat.



The French government were very much in earnest in this matter. On the 20th of January, Count Walewski addressed a despatch to Count Persigny. It stated, that the recent attempt on the life of the emperor, like those which had preceded it, had been projected in England; and then continued—"No one appreciates and respects more than ourselves the liberality with which England loves to practise the right of asylum towards foreigners, victims of political struggles. France has, on her part, always regarded it as a duty of humanity, never to close her frontiers to any honourable misfortune, to whatever party it might belong; and the government of his majesty has no intention of complaining that its adversaries can find a refuge on English soil, and live there peaceably, under the protection of British laws. But how widely different is the attitude of the adepts of demagoguery established in England. It is no longer the hostility of erring parties manifesting itself by all the excesses of the press, and every violence of language; it is no longer even the labours of the factious, seeking to agitate opinions, and to provoke disorder; it is assassination reduced to a doctrine, preached openly—practised in repeated attempts, the most recent of which has just struck Europe with stupefaction. Ought, then, the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Is hospitality due to assassins? Should English legislation serve to favour their designs and their manœuvres? And can it continue to protect persons who place themselves, by flagrant acts, without the pale of common law, and expose themselves to the ban of humanity?"

In France, the opportunity was, as we may suppose, improved. A new "*loi des suspects*" was enacted, which conferred upon the government the power of subjecting accused persons, "whom serious facts point out as dangerous to public safety, without trial, to be fined, imprisoned, removed to the interior, or carried off to Algeria or the colonies." That the people might the more readily be brought within the influence of the sword of the state, all France was parcelled out into five military divisions, each under its general; and the whole under Marshal Pelissier.

An uneasy feeling had been created by these events in the minds of the people of this country. When parliament met on February 4th, Mr. Roebuck inquired whether there had been any correspondence with the Court or minister of France, on the subject of any alteration in our criminal laws? Lord Palmerston replied, that a despatch had been addressed to the French ambassador in this country, but that no answer had been returned. It was unfortunate for his lordship, that when he did return one, it was more in accordance with French than English sentiments.

On the 8th of February, Lord Palmerston, in pursuance of the demand made upon him by the French government, moved for leave to "bring in a bill to amend the law relating to conspiracy to commit murder." Circumstances, he said, arose, from time to time, which pointed to the necessity, or at least the expediency, of revising particular laws. An event of that kind had recently happened. A conspiracy was formed, partly in this country, to commit an atrocious crime. The consequence has been, that foreign nations, ignorant of our laws, have thought that we are indifferent to crimes of this nature, and rather disposed to look upon them with favour. A disposition prevails upon the continent to think that parliament should take some steps to remove aliens on mere suspicion; but it is not the intention of government to propose any measure of that kind: such a power would lead to abuse; and to grant it is out of the question. The bill proposed—that if any person in Great Britain conspired with any persons, either within or without this country, to commit murder in these or any other dominions, they shall be deemed guilty of felony, and, on conviction, be liable to be sentenced to penal servitude for life, or for any term not less than five years; or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any term not exceeding three years: the same penalties to apply to any one who shall persuade, instigate, or solicit any other person to commit murder, either within or without her majesty's dominions. This,



Lord Palmerston held, would be an improvement on the existing law, and proceeding "as far as we can go without violence to the constitution."

An amendment was moved by Mr. A. W. Kinglake, to the effect that the House deemed it inexpedient to legislate in compliance with the demand made by Count Walewski's despatch, until further information be obtained. Mr. Hadfield, Mr. W. J. Fox, and Mr. Gilpin denounced the bill. They argued that it was unnecessary, and that it would prove a dead letter unless it provided for espionage by means of the French police. If, they argued, we oblige France to-day, something may be done to oblige Austria to-morrow; and after that, perhaps, something to oblige the King of Naples. If England gave way, what could Belgium, Switzerland, or Sardinia be expected to do? Persons who wade through slaughter to a throne have no right to ask their neighbours to watch over their safety. Assassins did not grow in England; they go out of it: but they first come into it from countries administered by governments who make assassins. Mr. Roebuck called upon the Commons, as "freemen, and the great protectors of the oppressed in Europe, to throw out the bill with all the ignominy it deserved." On the debate being adjourned, the proposed bill was opposed by many members, including Lord John Russell. The real question, he said, was, that the French government wanted to put an end to assemblages of fanatical politicians in London, which could only be done by sending them out of the country before any crime could be proved. He trusted that the House would stand by the established laws of England. Let those who would, support the bill: in their shame and humiliation he was determined not to share. On a division, the ayes were 299; noes, 99. The bill was therefore brought in, and read a first time.

The second reading of the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, as it was termed, was fixed for the 18th of February. Mr. Milner Gibson, in accordance with previous notice, proposed the following amendment:—"That the House hears, with much concern, that it is alleged that the recent attempts on the life of the Emperor of the French have been devised in England, and expresses its detestation of such guilty enterprises. That this House is ready at all times to assist in remedying any defects in the criminal law, which, after due investigation, are proved to exist; yet it cannot but regret that her majesty's government, previously to inviting the House to amend the laws of conspiracy at the present time, have not felt it to be their duty to make some reply to the important despatch received from the French government, dated Paris, January 20th, 1858; and which has been laid before parliament." The amendment was seconded by Mr. Bright, who had found his way back into the House of Commons as member for Birmingham. A warm debate ensued, during which Mr. Gladstone uttered these truthful and eloquent remarks—"These times are grave for liberty. We live in the nineteenth century; we talk of progress; we believe that we are advancing: but, can any man of observation, who has watched the events of the last few years in Europe, have failed to perceive that there is a movement indeed, but a downward and a backward movement? There are a few spots in which institutions that claim our sympathy still exist and flourish. They are secondary places; nay, they are almost the holes and corners of Europe, so far as mere material greatness, although their moral greatness will, I trust, ensure them long prosperity and happiness. But in these times, more than ever, does responsibility centre upon England; and if it does centre upon England, upon her principles and her laws, and upon her governors, then I say that a measure passed by this House of Commons—the chief hope of freedom—which attempts a moral complicity between us and those who seek safety in repressive measures, will be a blow and a discouragement to that sacred cause in every country in the world." The debate bore hardly on the government. It was evident the public opinion of the country was against them; that Lord Palmerston's readiness to change the laws of England at the dictation of a foreign potentate was peculiarly unacceptable: and when the great Tory party went over to Mr. Gibson, when Mr. Disraeli walked into the same lobby with Mr. Bright, it was clear the



battle was lost. On a division, the numbers were—ayes, 215; noes, 234: giving a majority of nineteen against the second reading. This result was received with loud cheers. On the following Monday, Lord Palmerston announced that there was only one course which ministers could pursue with a regard to their own honour, and a due respect to the House. They had, therefore, tendered to her majesty the resignation of their offices, and merely held them for the purpose of carrying on the business of the country until their successors were appointed.

Count Walewski, on reading the debate upon the second reading of the Conspiracy Bill, immediately had an interview with Earl Cowley, whom he authorised to express his astonishment and regret at the interpretation put upon his language; and at its being believed, with the knowledge he had of England, that he was “capable of applying, as a generality, an imputation which the context of his despatch proved could only have been intended for a definite class of strangers.” The ambassador, in communicating this message to Lord Clarendon, added, that Count Walewski “had evinced so much concern that the deplorable events which had occurred should not interrupt the friendly relations existing between the two countries, that it was not to be supposed he would have said aught that could be construed into an attack upon the liberties of the British nation.” As soon as the Derby ministry was formed, the Earl of Malmesbury wrote to Earl Cowley, requesting him to take the earliest opportunity of assuring Count Walewski, that her majesty’s advisers were “earnestly desirous of maintaining, in their integrity, those close and friendly relations which, since the restoration of the empire, had marked the alliance between Great Britain and France, to the great benefit of both countries.” To maintain those relations, however, whilst highly gratified by the full and frank assurances given by Count Walewski to Earl Cowley, the noble lord thought that some causes of misapprehension should be removed, as, if unexplained, they would continue to produce painful effects upon the public mind of England. Count Walewski, by stating, in his despatch, “that the late attempt, like others which had preceded it, had been devised in England, and that assassination, elevated to a doctrine, was preached openly, and practised in repeated attempts; and in asking whether the right of private asylum should contribute to favour such designs and plans?—had been understood to imply, not only that the offences enumerated were not recognised as such by the English law, but that they might be committed with impunity, and that the spirit of English legislation was such as designedly to screen and shelter the offender.” His lordship showed that such was a wrong construction of English law; and pointed out, that “since the late atrocious attempt, proceedings had been instituted in two cases—one for complicity in the late murderous attempt; another for a publication elevating assassination to a doctrine.” Count Walewski assured Earl Cowley (who read Lord Malmesbury’s despatch to him on the 8th of March), that “nothing could have been further from his intention than to convey, in his despatch of the 20th of January, any imputation whatever on the morality or honour of the British nation.” In a despatch of the 11th of March, to Count de Persigny, his excellency expressed the same sentiment.

Under his premiership, Lord Palmerston had the pleasure of assisting at the marriage of the princess-royal (which was celebrated on the 25th of January), to Prince Frederick William, of Prussia. The ceremony took place in the Chapel Royal of St. James’s Palace. Her majesty wore, on the occasion, amongst other jewels, the Koh-i-Noor. She took her chair, surrounded by her young children, near the altar: the princesses in white; the princes in the Highland dress. Lord Palmerston stood on the right, and the Duchess of Sutherland on the left of her majesty. On the arrival of the bridegroom, he walked slowly up the chapel, bowed to the queen and his mother, knelt in front of the altar for a few moments, and then rose, and waited for his bride. After a pause, the princess-royal entered: on one side was her father, on the other her grand-uncle, King Leopold. She was followed by her youthful bridesmaids. The aspect of



the princess at this moment is thus described by a spectator:—"The gorgeous veil she wears, depending from her head-dress, is thrown off, and, hanging in massive folds behind, leaves the expression of her face completely visible as she walks slowly, her head slightly stooped in bashfulness, and her eyes cast down upon the ground. Thus all can distinctly see the mild, amiable expression of her face, so replete with kindness and deep feeling, and a peculiarly touching aspect of sensitiveness. Her bright bloom of colour has completely deserted her; and even when compared with her snowy dress, her cheeks seemed pale, and her whole appearance denotes tremulousness and agitation." The prince-consort gave away the bride, who seemed overcome almost to fainting. When the service was concluded, and the Hallelujah chorus pealed forth, the bride gave vent to her long-suppressed feelings, and threw herself upon her mother's bosom, with a suddenness and depth of feeling that thrilled through every heart. The queen fondly kissed her, and the bridegroom embraced the princess, and endeavoured to calm her emotion. On leaving the chapel, the bride and bridegroom walked together, and the princess recovered her naturally gay expression, and her eyes sparkled with delight. Of the festivities that took place at Buckingham Palace, and of the illustrious party assembled there, it is needless to speak. On the 2nd of February, the distinguished pair embarked at Gravesend, to proceed to Prussia. Snow fell heavily during the day, which was cold and gloomy. After a protracted voyage, on account of the thick weather, the prince and princess reached Antwerp in safety. Both at London and Berlin there were festivities of all kinds in honour of the marriage, which appeared to be one of affection, rather than of interest.

One other event—the trial of certain refugees in England—was also the effect of Lord Palmerston's activity at this time. Dr. Simon Bernard, a French refugee, and a teacher of languages, residing at Bayswater, was arrested on a charge of complicity with Orsini, and the attempted assassination of the emperor. Mr. Allsop, an Englishman of property, and friend of Coleridge, only saved himself from a similar fate by flight. In addition to this, a government prosecution, for a libel on the Emperor of the French, was instituted. Edward Truelove, a bookseller in the Strand, had published a penny pamphlet, entitled *Tyrannicide, is it Justifiable?* The law officers of the crown considered that this pamphlet was a false, malicious, and scandalous libel on the emperor, with a view to incite persons to assassinate him. A warrant was issued, and Truelove arrested, and committed for trial. In his case bail was taken, but refused in that of Dr. Bernard. A few weeks afterwards, a Polish refugee, named Stanilaus Tchorsewski, was arrested, and carried before Mr. Jardine at Bow Street, for the publication of a pamphlet in French, described in the warrant as a malicious libel concerning his majesty the Emperor of the French, with intent to incite divers persons to assassinate his said majesty. Tchorsewski was committed to take his trial.

Simultaneously with these proceedings in England, was the trial in Paris of those who had recently attempted to take the life of the emperor. The conspirators were four—Orsini, Rudio, Pierri, and Gomez—all Italians. The first three were sentenced to be executed in black garments as parricides; the fourth, who occupied merely a menial position, and pleaded that he but obeyed his master's orders, was condemned to penal servitude for life. Orsini stated that he had no hatred of France. A French army had overthrown the Roman republic; but he was persuaded that this was the act of the government only. He had, in England, written and spoken in favour of political intervention to free Italy, being desirous of proceeding legally. Finding these steps ended in nothing, he became convinced that the Emperor Napoleon was opposed to the independence of Italy, and therefore he resolved to kill him. From his prison, Orsini addressed a letter to the emperor; in which he said—"In order to maintain the balance of power in Europe, it is necessary to render Italy independent, or to lighten the chains by which Austria holds her in bondage. Shall I ask that, for her deliverance, the blood of Frenchmen shall be shed for the Italians? No; I do not go so far as that. Italy



asks that France shall not intervene against her; and it shall not allow Germany to support Austria in the struggles in which she may, perhaps, be soon engaged. This is precisely what your majesty can do, if you are so inclined. On your will, therefore, depends the welfare or misfortune of my country—the life or death of a nation to which Europe is, in a great measure, indebted for her civilisation.” In a second letter to the emperor, he said—“Assassination, in whatever garb it may be disguised, does not enter amongst my principles, although, by a fatal error of mind, I have allowed myself to be led on to organise the attempt of the 14th of January.”

Orsini and Pierri were guillotined early on the morning of the 13th of March. Great numbers were present; and a body of 5,000 troops assembled round the scaffold. Pierri exhibited a feverish excitement; but Orsini was immovably calm. The work of death was rapidly done, and the crowd quietly dispersed. The life of Rudio was spared.

All this time intense excitement pervaded France, and a feeling of alarm appears to have taken possession of the French government. Arrests and repressive measures followed each other with great rapidity. Nor could the emperor allay his apparent agitation with respect to the liberty of political exiles in this country. A pamphlet, entitled *L'Empereur Napoleon III. et l'Angleterre*, was published in Paris. Though written by M. Guerronniere, it was attributed to the inspiration of the emperor. It harped, with a disagreeable perseverance, on the delicate relationships of the two nations: bitter complaints were made of the unfriendly feeling which, it was alleged, England entertained against his imperial majesty; and the advantages conferred on England by the French alliance were insisted on. It affirmed, that “in London there are held meetings where assassination is glorified. In London are sold atrocious libels, in which the murder of the sovereigns of Europe is elevated to a system—to a right, to a duty; in which thrones, altars, armies, laws, the magistracy, society, and God himself, are dragged through blood and mire. Such saturnalia surpass even barbarism. There is not a law, in ancient or in modern times, which tolerates them; and can it be pretended that this tolerance is, on the part of England, merely the exercise of the right of asylum?” How extravagant were these representations, was evidenced by the fact, that for proof of them, the writer was compelled to refer to what passed at a public-house near Temple Bar, where a discussion forum held its sittings, and where one of the subjects debated was—“Is regicide permitted under certain circumstances?”

A better feeling gradually grew up. The correspondence between Earl Malmesbury and Count Walewski was understood to have put the relations between the two countries on a more satisfactory footing, as the disavowal of the French foreign minister removed the only ground of complaint which could be urged against the despatch of the 20th of January. After the correspondence, it was thought that the Count de Persigny had better retire from the London embassy. He did so; and the Duke of Malakoff, who was on such familiar terms with the English army in the Crimea, was sent to replace him as ambassador to the Court of St. James's. The duke arrived in London on the 16th of April, and was most cordially welcomed. On the 6th of May, the members of the Army and Navy Club invited his excellency to dinner, at the club-house, St. James's Square. General Williams, the defender of Kars, presided; and the duke met many of his old companions-in-arms. The spirit displayed in the speeches delivered on this occasion, which were animated by a friendly feeling to France, and expressive of warm alliance between the two nations, on terms honourable to both, was very gratifying to Napoleon, who, according to an article on the change of ambassadors, which appeared in one of his official organs, selected the marshal as his representative at Queen Victoria's Court, because he “personified the alliance between the two nations, and was, in his person, a living monument of dangers and glory common to both.” About the time that the Duke de Malakoff received his appoint-



ment, the lands at St. Helena, forming the sites of Longwood and the tomb of Napoleon I., were made over to the emperor and his heirs for ever.

England did well in keeping to its old ways and institutions. A correspondent of the *Times* gives but a dreary view of affairs in Paris at the period of which we write. He says—"Over everything there is a gloom and uneasiness. People are talking timidly, and with measured dulness, on unusually commonplace topics. Men consider whether they ought to be walking with a friend whom they have known for years. Two persons will be speaking together, and, on seeing a third person join them, will suddenly pause, and turn the conversation. There will be, in the midst of social intercourse, a man who checks the mouth, and puts a guard on every tongue. People will talk with him, shake hands with him; but they will be careful of what they say before him. Individuals are careful what books they have in their libraries; what papers they have in their writing-desks. They do not talk affably with their inferiors, as light-hearted Frenchmen in the old time did. The *concierge*, the waiter at the *café*, even the private servants, are kept at a distance. In a railway carriage, it is well not to be too conversational with a neighbour. In a letter, it is as well to confine yourself to good wishes for your correspondent's health; for Paris and France are under strict surveillance; and no one knows who are the watchers, and who are the watched. The empire is *espionage*; its incarnation is a *mouchard*. It is not only that reorganised agents of police are in every street and public place; that the comings and goings of well-known democrats are watched; that the assemblies of communists are hunted out; but men of every rank, every phase of character, every shade of political opinions, are at the mercy of an immense army of spies, who penetrate everywhere—who follow the individual even into the confidence of his family and private life; and who spread distrust and apprehension through the country."

France, we may remark *en passant*, does not seem to have changed much for the better yet. The Paris correspondent of the *Morning Star*, writing from that gay capital in October, 1866, says—"According to the twelfth paragraph of Article 475 of the penal code, I was aware that every Frenchman was compelled, under pain of infraction of the law, to aid all government officers, policemen, &c., in all cases of accident, rows, or riots, shipwreck, inundation, fires, and other calamities, as well as in case of pillage or robbery. Every Frenchman is, moreover, bound to seize a guilty party, and give him up to justice. All this we have all been perfectly aware of. I also knew that there were a numerous body of men who gained their bread by the revolting occupation of spy. Yet, till now, I fancied these spies—or *mouchards*, as they are here called—filled no other function. A trial, which has just taken place in Paris, would, however, lead me to conclude that every individual in this country is qualified to serve the police, whatever may be his other occupations, and employed by government to be kept *au courant* of what is going on. Thus the head of a restaurant, one's private servant, one's porter, &c., may be, for aught we know, in the pay of the police. We are, in fact, living in an atmosphere of *mouchardism*. It is, however, no joke or sinecure to be a spy. Witness Clercenvault, a costermonger, who, although he had means of gaining his livelihood honourably, enrolled himself in that mysterious confraternity. He, having repeated what he heard, or denounced what he saw, naturally made an extensive circle of enemies. On the 16th of last June, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, Hentz Leperteur, and the brothers Neveu, who had cause of complaint against him, on account of revelations he had made to the police, attracted him into a lonely spot near Paris, accused him of being a spy, and threw themselves upon him, armed with open knives, and all but murdered him. Hentz Leperteur has been sentenced to twenty years' hard labour; the brothers Neveu got off, owing to extenuating circumstances."

But we must return to the trial, instituted by Lord Palmerston, at the instigation of the French government. On the 9th of April, true bills were returned against Dr. Bernard, Mr. Truelove, and Stanilaus Tchorsewski. Great



excitement prevailed on the subject. The prosecution was felt to be purely political. The trial commenced, at the Old Bailey, on the 12th of April.

Dr. Bernard was charged as an accessory, before the fact, to the murder of Nicholas Battie, and of another person (name unknown), whose deaths resulted from the explosion of certain hand-grenades, or shells, hurled at the carriage of the Emperor of the French, on the evening of the 14th of January. The prisoner objected that the court had no jurisdiction to try him on that indictment; and therefore he declined to plead. This objection was overruled, and the plea of "not guilty" entered for him. The details of the trial are too prolix for our pages. The prosecution sought to establish the guilt of Dr. Bernard by a long chain of circumstantial evidence. It is a well-known rule of English law, that when a case rests entirely on circumstantial evidence, that evidence must not only be consistent with the hypothesis of the guilt of the accused person, but it must also exclude every other hypothesis. It must not only be shown that he may be guilty, but that, on the evidence, it is impossible he can be innocent. The evidence against Dr. Bernard did not fulfil this condition; and the fact that the trial lasted six days, and had been undertaken at the instigation of the two most powerful governments in the world, raises a presumption that the evidence of guilt was weak. There were certain indisputable facts. An attempt was made on the life of the emperor by Orsini, Pierri, Rudio, and Gomez. The weapons used were shells, exploded by fulminating powder; and the shells were made by Mr. Taylor, of Birmingham, to the order of Thomas Allsop. Some time before the murderous enterprise, Bernard bought, in London, the materials used for making the fulminate of mercury. He was on intimate terms with Orsini; and he hired Rudio to join Orsini in Paris. It was, however, proved that Bernard caused some pieces of iron, supposed to be detached parts of grenades, to be conveyed to Brussels, and thence to Paris. He also sent two revolvers, which were delivered to Orsini in the French capital. In addition to this, Bernard was a republican, and avowed himself a conspirator against the despotic government of France. This was the whole case against him, with the exception that a letter was found in his lodgings, written by Allsop in January, 1857, and couched in violent language against the emperor. There was no proof that the shells made by Mr. Taylor, and paid for by Allsop, ever reached the hands of Dr. Bernard. An attempt was made to identify them with the pieces of iron which he sent to Brussels; but the evidence on this point was not satisfactory. Neither was there anything to show what use he had made of the mercury, nitric acid, and alcohol, which he had purchased in his own name. More important still, there was no evidence to connect him with the acts of Orsini in Paris. Not a scrap of writing was found to implicate him; and he was not named in the confessions made by the four condemned. If Bernard was a party to the plot, Rudio must have known it; but neither Rudio nor Gomez were produced as witnesses. The question for the jury was, whether Dr. Bernard knew that Orsini went to Paris with the deliberate intention of assassinating the emperor? The explanation offered on his behalf was, that he had assisted Orsini and his confederates to go to Paris, in furtherance of a revolutionary movement for the independence of Italy, and not to attempt the emperor's life; and that Orsini, when in Paris, formed the design which he carried into execution on the 14th of January. This statement was supported by the subsequent conduct and declaration of Dr. Bernard. Orsini, on taking his departure, told every one his destination was Paris. When the news of the attempt at assassination reached this country, Dr. Bernard appeared utterly confounded, and refused belief. He assured every one who listened to him, that he knew Orsini well; that he was acquainted with his object in going to Paris; and it was impossible that his friend could have formed the idea of assassination. He made no attempt to conceal papers, or remove them to destroy evidence, or to hide himself. There was, at least, so much doubt, that the jury declared him "not guilty." On the announcement of this decision there was loud and repeated cheering in court. Bernard, in



an excited manner, waved his handkerchief, and exclaimed, "I am not guilty—I am not guilty! Honour to an English jury! England has always been, and will always be, the land of liberty! England will always crush tyranny wherever it may be!" An immense crowd had assembled in the streets; and on the result of the trial being made known, continued cheering, and a scene of great excitement, took place. Many of the French journals were offended at the cheering, and regarded it as an expression of ill-will towards the emperor. It was not that. In England we always sympathise with the weak, rather than the strong—hence the joy manifested by the populace. Edwin James, the counsel for the defence, became the idol of the mob, and gained a seat for Marylebone.

For some time the government appeared inclined to proceed with the prosecutions against Truelove and the<sup>3</sup> Pole, Tchorsewski; but they eventually came to the conclusion of abandoning a course which had, at the least, the appearance of an attempt to coerce the press. On the 22nd of June, the trial of Mr. Truelove was to take place in the Court of Queen's Bench, before Lord Campbell and a special jury. Considerable excitement prevailed, and the court was crowded, when the prosecution was withdrawn by the Attorney-general, on Mr. Truelove admitting that he never intended to countenance the crime of assassination, and that he was ready to express his regret that any such misconception should have been put upon his publication. A similar proceeding then took place with respect to Tchorsewski, and the press prosecutions were at an end. The Derby ministry acted wisely in retiring from proceedings which they did not originate. Orsini's attempt created in France a feeling of irritation against England. The French government saw an opportunity for striking a blow against the right of asylum, freely accorded in this country to political refugees of every nation, and of all shades of opinion. Count Walewski, for a short time, even entertained the hope that he could not only obtain the expulsion of obnoxious refugees, but some limitation of our liberty of the press. Lord Palmerston, probably, did not intend to go this length; but he was anxious to conciliate a powerful ally. The Conspiracy Bill, the arrest of Bernard, and the prosecution of an English bookseller, were all parts of an un-English policy; and the English people were anxious to show that they would not tolerate even the semblance of yielding to foreign dictation—that England would be England still—free in speech, free in its offer of shelter and liberty to the oppressed of every clime. The speech of King John to the pope's legate—with but a slight variation—should have been in Lord Palmerston's mouth. Shakespeare makes that poor puling king exclaim—

"Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England:  
And thus much more—that no Italian priest  
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions;  
But as we, under heaven, are supreme head,  
So under Him, that great authority,  
Where we do reign we will alone uphold,  
Without the assistance of a mortal hand."

Had Lord Palmerston spoken in some such strain, he would have remained in office.

In another matter Lord Palmerston seems to have acted in a manner unworthy of his ancient fame. It appears, that in June, 1857, the steam-boat *Cagliari*, which performed the mail service from Genoa to Tunis, started on her usual trip. During the voyage, a number of persons—most of them discharged soldiers of the Italian legion—possessed themselves of the command of the vessel, directed her course towards the Neapolitan coast, and attacked the island of Ponza, where they took on board 300 persons condemned for political offences. The *Cagliari* was subsequently captured by two vessels of the Neapolitan navy. On this, the owners of the packet demanded its restoration, on the ground that the captain and crew had acted under the influence of force. The Neapolitan government replied that the ship was officially confiscated. The crew, including Watt



and Park, the English engineers, were sent to prison to await their trial; and the British consul was not permitted to see his unfortunate countrymen. On the attention of Lord Palmerston being drawn to the subject in parliament, he replied that full inquiry had been made into the circumstances, and that the British government did not feel bound to interfere. Here was an abandonment of the *civis Romanus sum* doctrine with a vengeance. Surely, like fiery port, his lordship had become toned down by old age.

When the Conservatives came into office, they found public opinion very sore. People believed that the government had been meanly permitting Englishmen, guilty of no crime, to suffer a cruel imprisonment in the dungeons of Naples. The new government took up the matter warmly. On the 15th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement respecting it. He said that, as the jurisdiction of the King of Naples had been acknowledged by the late ministry, the present one was prevented from taking any steps in contravention of that decision. The government would submit their case, he said, to the law advisers of the crown; and then act without fear or favour, whether they deemed it their duty to assert the rights of a sovereign, or to vindicate those of their fellow-subjects. He added, that all the papers connected with the case should be laid before the House. On the 22nd of March, Mr. Disraeli informed the House, that in consequence of the representation of the British consul, the King of Naples had given orders that Watt should be immediately released; that Park had been released on bail; and that he had been placed on trial, which was conducted in a spirit of impartiality. Park was subsequently set at liberty; and a demand was made by the British government on that of Naples, for compensation to him and his companions. Eventually, the King of Naples agreed to pay £3,000 as compensation, and to deliver up the ship *Cagliari*, and the whole of her crew, into the hands of the government of this country.

Homer, we are told, sometimes nodded; and it seems, occasionally, England's far-famed Secretary was under somniferous influences. Still, in the fact that there was joy in Vienna, and among the despotic rulers of the continent, when it was heard that Palmerston was Premier no longer, we have the best compliment to his lordship's policy and power.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE CONSERVATIVES IN OFFICE.

LORD DERBY, as head of the party that formed the most numerous section of the majority against the late government, received the queen's authority to form a new ministry. He undertook the task, though perfectly conscious that he possessed neither a parliamentary majority, nor that broad basis of popular support which is usually regarded as essential to the leader of the government.

Of this brilliant orator, the following particulars are worth recording. Edward Geoffrey Stanley, Earl of Derby, was born in 1799, at Knowsley Park, Lancashire. Having been educated at Eton, and at Christchurch, Oxford, Mr. Stanley, in 1821, became a member of the House of Commons, in which, for the next twenty years, he enacted a most conspicuous part. He seems to have been in no haste to trespass on the attention of the illustrious assembly; but when he broke silence in 1824, his maiden speech, though on a matter of mere local interest, elicited a high eulogium from Sir J. Mackintosh; and in the course of the same session, his second oratorical effort, on the subject of the Irish church, exhibited the readiness, aptitude, and ability of an experienced debater. Mr. Macaulay



remarked, that Mr. Stanley's knowledge of the science of parliamentary defence resembled an instinct; and that it would be difficult to name any other debater who has not made himself a master of his art at the expense of his audience. During the brief Canning and Goderich administrations, Mr. Stanley, as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was initiated into official mysteries; and on the formation of Lord Grey's government, he was nominated to the then arduous post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. But although the young nobleman's political views were of the most liberal character, the constituency of Preston preferred the claims of Henry Hunt, the popular, but now forgotten, demagogue. However, Mr. Stanley found his way into the political arena through the borough of Windsor; and was, ere long, engaged in those single-handed conflicts with O'Connell and Shiel, which, for years, excited parliament, and alarmed the country. While the Reform Bill was under discussion in 1832, his singular genius for debate was often exercised with effect in defence of its provisions; and, about the same time, he carried the measure for national education in Ireland. The question was one of absorbing interest in the country; and the feeling, when the outline of the plan was made known, was one of general dismay among a very large body, both of the clergy and laity. It was affirmed, though very untruly, that Dr. Whately had been sent to Ireland as Archbishop of Dublin, for the very purpose of carrying out the system. That system failed. How it would have worked, and whether its success would have been greater as a mixed system, had the great body of Protestant clergy and laity supported it, it would be now vain to inquire. That the results would have been different from those which have taken place, can scarcely be doubted; but what those results would have been, is another question. Whether a mixed system of education (really, and not nominally mixed, as has been the case in some instances) can ever work effectually in a country where different religious systems are held with such intensity as in Ireland, is in itself a question not easily or quickly answered.

It was in the session of 1833 that Mr. Stanley's ability was most conspicuous, and his voice most potent in the battle of debate. At the opening of parliament, he overpowered the Irish repealers, says *Men of the Time*, by his vehement invective; and, combining the pride of patrician blood with the pride of intellectual prowess, it would, indeed, have been something novel in human nature, if he had not manifested a degree of scorn for his adversaries. This tendency soon raised up a host of foes eager to annoy him. The complaint of *hauteur* became so frequent, that the leader of the opposition came to the rescue. "I have often," said Sir Robert Peel, "heard the right honourable gentleman taunted with his aristocratic bearing and demeanour. I rather think I should hear fewer complaints on that score if he were a less powerful opponent in debate." Whether Mr. Stanley were wise in thus treating his opponents, is a question to which many have returned a negative reply. Be this as it may, that year he carried the Church Temporalities Bill, and the measure for emancipating the West India slaves; having, for the latter purpose, become Colonial Secretary, and a member of the cabinet.

In 1834, alarmed at the ministerial project of still further reducing the Irish church establishment, Lord Stanley withdrew from office, carrying Sir J. Graham, Lord Ripon, and the Duke of Richmond in his train. He declined to take part in the administration formed by Sir Robert Peel, on Lord Grey's resignation; but after acting with the Conservative opposition for seven years, he accepted the seals of the Colonial Office in 1841; and occupied that post for four years, in the course of which he was removed to the House of Peers. At the close of 1845, when Sir R. Peel arrived at the resolution of abandoning the cause of protection, Lord Stanley withdrew from office; and next year, though with seeming reluctance, placed himself at the head of the opposition, illustrated and rendered memorable in the House of Commons, by the industry of a Lord George Bentinck, and the genius of a Disraeli.

In 1851, the resignation of Lord John Russell brought the Conservatives to



the very gate of office; and after the Whigs had retained office a year longer, in February, 1852, the Conservative chief, who, meanwhile, had succeeded his father as fourteenth Earl Derby, accepted the responsibilities of office, and constructed a cabinet. Having succeeded in unravelling the tangled web—so says an aristocratic admirer—of government difficulties, financial and diplomatic, created by his predecessors, he was obliged to retire before the usual combination of Whig and Radical partisans.

In 1852, on the death of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Derby was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

On the fall of the coalition cabinet, in 1855, the earl declined to undertake the duties of government, on the ground that the only ministry he could have formed would have been dependent for existence on the forbearance of his foes.

His lordship was ably supported by Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose extraordinary eloquence in debate, and influence in the cabinet, obtained for him the lead of the House of Commons; and by Mr. Walpole, who, as Home Secretary, if without the more brilliant qualifications of his colleague, showed that he was well fitted for office, and that his character was strongly marked by honesty of purpose, and devotion to his duties. The Lord Chancellor was Sir F. Thesiger; the President of the Council, Marquis of Salisbury; Foreign Secretary, Lord Malmesbury; Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley; War Department, General Peel; President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Henley; President of the Board of Control, Earl of Ellenborough; Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Hardwicke; Board of Works, Lord John Manners, famed all the world over for his unfortunate couplet—

“ Let learning, laws, and commerce die,  
But save, oh save our old nobility.”

The First Lord of the Admiralty was Sir John Pakington, an amiable and excellent man, a sound churchman, a fair debater—nothing more.

Next to Mr. Disraeli, Lord Stanley is the most able of the new ministry—the one most esteemed and respected in the House or out. His lordship, the eldest son of Earl Derby, was born in 1826; and was educated at Rugby, and Trinity College, Dublin, where he was first-class classics, besides taking mathematical honours, and gaining a declamation and other prizes. While travelling in America, he was elected Lord George Bentinck's successor, as member of parliament for the borough of Lynn; and having returned to England, he delivered, in the House of Commons, during the summer of 1850, a speech on the subject of the sugar colonies, which was highly praised by Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. Lord Stanley, with a laudable anxiety to prepare himself, by study and travel, for the work of the state, and the welfare of the senate, next paid a visit to the East; and was still in India when nominated, in March, 1852, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the Derby ministry; and in the spring of 1853 (having, in the meantime, resigned with his party), he submitted to the House of Commons a motion, which had for its ultimate object a more complete reform of Indian affairs than that contemplated by the coalition cabinet. It is chiefly, however, as a social reformer, and to his indefatigable exertions out of parliament, for the intellectual improvement of the great body of the people, that Lord Stanley is mainly noticeable. He has the reputation of being by far the ablest scion of the aristocracy that has entered parliament since the era of the Reform Bill. In the establishment of baths and washhouses, of mechanics' institutions, of public libraries, of improved dwellings for the labouring classes, he has taken an active part. When, in 1855, the death of Sir W. Molesworth created a vacancy in the Colonial Office, Lord Palmerston, sensible of Lord Stanley's talents and popularity, offered him the seals of that department; but he declined the office. “The offer of the Colonies,” said a writer in a paper at the time, “was alike honourable to Lord Palmerston and Lord Stanley. It was a recognition, on the Premier's part, of Lord



Stanley's known talents, and of another of his qualities still rarer—we mean his studious devotion to statesmanship as the business of his life. Everything here has been so long rated by the parliamentary standard only, that statesmanship proper scarcely exists. We have debaters in plenty, but no Metternichs and Chesterfields; while, of the higher and more philosophical class of statesmen—men who study history, and, at the same time, their age as part of history—a specimen is as rare as the capercailzie is in Scotland. Without the pedantry of a *doctrinaire*, Lord Stanley has the speculative seriousness of a student, and unites with that a most attentive observation to the living time, without which no man can be worth a straw as a practical politician. It is an unquestionable honour to him to have been so selected by a veteran judge of men like Lord Palmerston, whose *forte* is, probably, his knowledge of mankind.”

In a little while, the new administration was strengthened in the acceptance, by Sir Bulwer Lytton, of the Colonial Secretaryship, vacated by Lord Stanley for that of India. Sir Edward had acquired unusual fame as a novelist, dramatist, poet, and historian: his numerous works have placed him foremost among the sterling writers of the age. As the representative of one of the most ancient families in England, and as a member for an influential county, he re-entered parliament with all the *prestige* which a popularity that embraced all ranks could confer. He soon made it apparent, that among the attainments by which he had been so bountifully gifted, he possessed eloquence of the highest order. Having, in this way, raised himself to the first rank of parliamentary oratory in the estimation both of friends and opponents, he accepted office. His untiring attention to the business of his department; his numerous lucid, yet elaborate, expositions of every question of policy he was required to defend; and the sound discrimination he displayed in the appointment of subordinates, point him out as one of the most efficient Secretaries of State that has held office since the establishment of our colonial empire. Sir Lytton (now Lord Lytton) is the son of General Bulwer, of Heydon Hall, Norfolk; and was born in 1805. After having spent his boyhood at private schools, and under the care of two tutors, young Bulwer went to Cambridge, where he signalised himself by his luxury, and by his carrying off the Chancellor's prize medal with his English poem of *Sculpture*. In 1827, he appeared as a novelist. In 1831, he was returned to the House of Commons, as member for St. Ives; and became conspicuous in the ranks of the English Radicals. He strove, in his senatorial capacity, to link his name still closer with literature by his exertions in favour of a law for the protection of dramatic copyright, and of measures for relieving the newspaper press from the burden of the stamp laws. When Sir R. Peel took office in 1835, Bulwer published a pamphlet, entitled *The Crisis*, which ran rapidly through more than twenty editions, exercised no inconsiderable influence on the elections, and is said to have won for its author a baronetcy. In 1842, he was rejected by the borough of Lincoln, which he had long represented in parliament. From that date, for several years, he was out of parliament. In 1851, when parties had been broken up and re-cast, he—having meanwhile inherited Knebworth, with the estates of his maternal ancestors, and assumed, by royal license, the name of Lytton—again entered the political arena with a pamphlet, in the form of *Letters to John Bull*, recommending a settlement of the protection question on terms of mutual compromise; and when parliament was dissolved in 1852, he was a successful candidate for the county of Hertford, and took his seat in the House as a Conservative, and a supporter of Lord Derby.

The position of the new Premier was one of remarkable difficulty. Our relations with France, and the state of our affairs in India, rendered uncertainty in the government perplexing and injurious. On the 1st of March, Lord Derby made, in the House of Lords, his expected statement as head of the new government. He said that the recent victory in the Commons, with the displacement of the ministry, was unexpected; that it found him unprepared for taking office; that on attending the summons of the queen, he besought time to consider; and only accepted the



post which her majesty had conferred upon him, at her persevering desire. Alluding to the state of parties, he said—"It is very like the distinctions of the various grades of rank in society at large. There is a broad interval between the highest and the lowest; but the gradation by which one melts into the other is so imperceptible, that it is difficult, with regard to social rank and to political parties, to state precisely where one commences and the other ends. Desiring to form a government upon a basis which should be Conservative in the truest sense of the word, but, at the same time, not indisposed to measures of progressive improvement, I hoped to obtain the assistance of those eminent persons who, not belonging to the government we have succeeded, shared to such a degree the opinions of the Conservative party, that they might be deemed guilty of an inconsistency in associating themselves with me in the difficult task I had undertaken." The persons thus applied to were—Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Newcastle, and Earl Grey; but as they declined joining Lord Derby, he was thrown back upon his political followers.

With regard to India, Lord Derby considered, that though much remained to be done, yet he did not entertain any doubt but that the continued exertions of the gallant troops of her majesty would, at no distant period, terminate the formidable insurrection which raged there. The China war he still considered was entered upon unadvisedly, and upon insufficient grounds; yet he cordially rejoiced at the success which had hitherto attended the British arms. "The best result of that success, however, will be, that it will give the opportunity of concluding, with the least possible delay, a safe and honourable peace, and will enable us to resume the benefits and advantages of that commercial intercourse, for which alone it can be of the slightest advantage to maintain any communication whatever with such a country. The idea of territorial aggression—of doing more than obtaining adequate means for freely carrying on peaceful commerce, will, I trust, never enter the head of any minister who conducts the affairs of this country."

Of the French difficulty Lord Derby spoke at great length. This country had but one desire with regard to France: that, remaining on friendly terms with it, she should have within herself all the means of contentment, wealth, and prosperity. Its form of government was, if not a matter of indifference to us, at least one in which we had no cause or right to inquire. But whatever the government, it was of vast importance to France, and hardly of secondary importance to Europe, that that government should enjoy a condition of permanence and stability. Towards the maintenance of that condition, the life of the remarkable man who presided over the destinies of that country was of great and paramount importance. "I cannot, therefore, wonder, however deeply I may deplore, that upon the news spreading through France that this atrocious deed was the act of refugees coming straight from England, with the enthusiastic expressions of loyalty and congratulation at the safety of the emperor, there should have been mingled, especially from the army of France, some expressions which, seeing how unworthy they were as applied to England, must naturally have wounded the feelings of this country. Under the circumstances, I think that such expressions ought not to have been too nicely scanned, even if his imperial majesty, with that frankness and candour which he has always displayed in his relations with England, had not fairly avowed the regret he felt that such language had been suffered to appear in the public papers, and thereby to create a just resentment in the people of this country." Lord Derby did not consider that the hospitality of England was due to assassins; but he contended, that not only assassination, but conspiracy, or incitement to assassinate, whether by publication or by word of mouth, was an offence recognised by the law of England. Intention, however, unaccompanied by any overt act, so long as the intention remained in the mind of the party alone conceiving it, afforded no ground for prosecution. Suspicion did not warrant punishment in any such case. The evidence of guilt must be such as to satisfy a jury. The new ministry had come to the resolution of pointing out to the French minister the misconstructions which had been placed upon his despatch; and, in the most amicable manner, to request of



him an explanation which might remove the painful impression prevailing among the English people. Pending that reply, the government deemed it their duty to put in force the existing powers of the law, for the purpose of checking these dangerous and alarming conspiracies.

In describing the policy of the new administration, the earl observed, that whilst we "firmly maintain the great institutions of the country, we shall not hesitate to propose and support measures of undoubted improvement and progress, and to introduce, whenever necessary, safe and well-considered improvements. There could be no greater mistake than to suppose that a Conservative ministry necessarily means a stationary ministry. The constitution itself was the result of a series of perpetual changes." Before concluding, the noble earl referred to the subject of parliamentary reform. He would have been well satisfied that no legislation on a subject so exciting should be called for from the government. Yet he could not exclude from his consideration the fact, that for three or four years, not only had a demand been made, but a promise had been given by successive governments of the introduction of a Reform Bill. He would not pledge himself and his colleagues to introduce such a bill; but, as soon as the pressure of parliamentary business enabled them deliberately to consider the question, they would direct their attention to the defects existing in the laws regulating the representation of the people in parliament, and to the amendments which might be made in those laws.

The settlement of the new form of government for India was the first and most urgent matter for the consideration of parliament. Mr. Disraeli, on March the 26th, introduced into the House of Commons Lord Derby's bill for the future government of India, and its transference from the East India Company to the crown. Fearful of an opposition which might endanger the existence of the new ministry, Mr. Disraeli adopted, on the reassembling of parliament, a suggestion of Lord John Russell's; and instead of pressing his measure, proposed a series of preliminary resolutions on the subject for the consideration of the House. These resolutions were discussed *seriatim*.

During the progress of these discussions, the existence of the ministry was threatened by another circumstance connected with the affairs of India. Lord Ellenborough, in anticipation of the fall of Lucknow, caused a despatch to be addressed to Lord Canning, the Governor-general of India, recommending a merciful policy towards the rebels. Punishments, it said, had been too frequent and severe; adding—"While we may be unable to forget the insanity which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the army and a large portion of the people, we should, at the same time, remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years, and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred, as to remove their delusions and their fears, and re-establish, if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power." In issuing these directions, it was assumed that the government were actuated by a desire to obtain popularity, and to pass a censure upon Lord Canning. Party feeling was introduced into the discussion, which speedily waxed warm.

On the 14th of May, Mr. Cardwell moved the following resolutions in the Commons—in other words, he moved a censure on the ministry:—"That this House, whilst, in its present state of information, it abstains from expressing an opinion on the policy of any proclamation which may have been issued by the Governor-general of India in relation to Oude, has seen, with regret and serious apprehension, that her majesty's government have addressed to the Governor-general, through the recent committee of the Court of Directors, and have published, a despatch condemning in strong terms the conduct of the Governor-general; and is of opinion that such a course, on the part of the government, must tend, in the present circumstances of India, to produce the most prejudicial effect, by weakening the authority of the Governor-general, and encouraging the further resistance of those who are in arms against us." A full House attended to take part in the discussion, which it was expected would have ended in the defeat of the ministry.



The debate extended over four nights. During the course of it, Sir De Lacy Evans declared that the motion would imperil our interests in India; and gave notice that he should move a resolution, "That, in the opinion of this House, the proclamation of the Governor-general of India, pronouncing a confiscation to the British government of the proprietary rights of the people of Oude, was not equitable, politic, or calculated to promote the pacification of the people of that country, and ought not to be carried into effect." Mr. Bright also declared that the proclamation was one of war to the knife; and that the Governor-general would require a new army at his back to carry it out. He added, that there was quite as much zeal for places as for the good of India in the resolution before the House. Such seems to have been the general feeling; for, on the 21st of May, Mr. Cardwell withdrew his motion, in accordance with the request of Lord Palmerston. An amendment, by Mr. Dillwyn, member for Swansea, had been moved, to the following effect:—"That this House generally approves of Lord Canning's policy up to the time of the Oude proclamation, and is quite satisfied with the judgment and firmness he has evinced during the crisis in India; but declines to give opinion upon the proclamation itself, until it has further information on the state of Oude when it was issued, and also Lord Canning's reasons for issuing it." This amendment likewise fell to the ground.

Public opinion generally condemned Lord Canning's policy of confiscation, as calculated to incite the people of Oude against us, and to produce irritation where we desired to tranquillise. Prior to the debate, Lord Ellenborough resigned his position as a member of the ministry. The publication of the letter to Canning was, he said, entirely his own act. "I knew what was right," said his lordship, "and I did it. I have served the people of India faithfully for thirty years; and I will not now do an act, at the close of a public life, to injure them." He was succeeded, as President of the Board of Control, by Lord Stanley.

A further complication of the difficulty in which the government had become entangled in this matter, was occasioned by a statement of Lord Granville, that the late President of the Board of Control (Mr. Vernon Smith), had, some time previous, received a private letter from the Governor-general, in which his lordship stated, that he considered his proclamation to the people of Oude required an explanatory despatch; but that, owing to the great pressure of business, he had not been able then to send it. This communication, from inadvertence or design, had been withheld, by the late President, from his successor at the Board of Control; and the present government felt they had just ground of complaint at the unusual reserve, by which, it was contended, the noble earl had been placed in a false position with respect to the Governor-general's proclamation.

On the 17th of June, the report of the resolutions on the government of India was read to the House; and leave given to introduce a bill founded upon them, which was at once introduced by Lord Stanley. It passed a second reading on the 24th, without a division; and its third reading on the 8th of July, amidst loud cheers from the House. The following night it went to the upper House, where it passed on the 23rd. Some amendments were made by the Lords, which the Commons subsequently agreed to. This bill, the main outline of which we have already given, was considered to embody the most important points of both Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli's bills.

At this time, a question, which had long, in some way or other, been before parliament, was satisfactorily disposed of. By a mistake, Jews had been excluded from parliament. The oath required of members, since the Catholic emancipation, had to be taken on the faith of a Christian. The constituencies were thus deprived of a right: if they returned Jews to parliament, the latter were not allowed to sit in it; and were thus punished for their religious opinions. It was felt by all who could think rightly, that this twofold wrong was indefensible. The Jewish question, in the opinion of Mr. Disraeli, was one of the utmost importance. "It may be observed," he writes, "that the decline and disasters of modern com-



munities have generally been relative to their degree of sedition against the Semitic principle. Since the great revolt of the Celts against the first and second Testaments, at the close of the last century, France has been alternately in a state of collapse or convulsion. Throughout the awful trials of the last sixty years, England, notwithstanding her deficient and meagre theology, has always remembered Zion. The great Transatlantic republic is intensely Semitic, and has prospered accordingly. This sacred principle alone has consolidated the mighty empire of all the Russias. How omnipotent it is, cannot be more clearly shown than by the instance of Rome, where it appears in its most corrupt form. An old man, on a Semitic throne, baffles the modern Attilas, and the recent invasion of the barbarian, under the form of red republicans, socialists, communists—all different phases, which describe the relapse of the once converted race into their primitive condition of savagery. Austria would long ago have dissolved but for the Semitic principle; and if the north of Germany has never succeeded in attaining that imperial position, which seemed its natural destiny, it is that the north of Germany has never, at any time, been thoroughly converted. Some, perhaps, may point to Spain as a remarkable instance of decline in a country where the Semitic principle has exercised great influence. But the fall of Spain was occasioned by the expulsion of her Semitic population—a million families of Jews and Saracens, the most distinguished of her citizens for their industry and their intelligence, their learning and their wealth.”

Perhaps, in a similar paragraph, there was never more nonsense and confusion: but the writer of it is in power; he must do something for the Jews, even though he sneers at “the equivocal principle of religious liberty; the unqualified application of which principle seems hardly consistent with that recognition of religious truth by the state, to which we adhere, and without which it is highly probable that the northern and western races, after a disturbing and rapidly degrading period of atheistical anarchy, may fatally recur to their old national idolatries, modified and mythically dressed up according to the spirit of the age.”

The Oaths Bill, by which Jews would be permitted to enter parliament, was read a third time in the Commons, on the 13th of April, and passed amid the cheers of the House. When the bill was sent to the Lords, they struck out the clause by which the Jews would be admitted to the lower House, and made other “amendments.” On its being returned to the Commons, they (May 10th) voted, by a majority of 113, that the House disagreed to those amendments; and a committee was appointed, of which Baron Rothschild was a member, to draw up the reasons for disagreement. A conference with the Lords respecting the amendments was then appointed. The Lords, not disposed to yield, brought forward two bills of their own on the subject, both of which would permit the admission of the Jews, but in an evasive and ungracious way. One of these (Lord Lucan’s) was passed by the peers. It proposed to give either House the power to omit the words, “on the true faith of a Christian,” from the oath whenever a Jewish member declared that he had a conscientious objection to the form. This measure was accepted as a solution of a great difficulty, and to avoid a collision between the two Houses. Yet, even in yielding so far, the Lords insisted upon recording their reasons why the Jews ought not to be allowed to sit in parliament. When the bill was sent to the Commons, Mr. Newdegate moved that it be read a second time that day six months. Lord John Russell said that the concessions of the Lords had been anything but gracious or generous; but still, the best course for the House to pursue, was to accept the bill, as a mode of escaping from the position in which they were placed. The bill passed, and the question on which the two Houses had disagreed for a period of ten years, was settled by a compromise. Baron Rothschild took his seat in the Commons on the 26th of July. A few other Jews have since found their way into parliament; but it must be confessed, on all sides, that the House of Commons is as much a Christian assembly as it ever was.

There was also another question—that of church-rates—which the House



tried to settle; but, alas! in vain. On the subject of church-rates, the Commons and the Lords again came into collision. Many attempts had been made at a compromise, or commutation of church-rates. On the 8th of June, the Commons passed a bill for their total abolition: the ayes being 266; noes, 203—leaving a majority in favour of the measure, of 63. The reasons of the majority were irresistible. The dissenter supports his own place of worship: why, then, should he have to pay for the repair of the churches of the wealthiest sect in Christendom? The idea is utterly preposterous and absurd; and, accordingly, in many of the large towns, by the consent of sensible churchmen themselves, no rates had been levied for years. The abolition was supported, not only by dissenters, but by sincere friends of the church as well. The bill, however, was opposed in the Lords by the Premier, who yet held out a hope that he might, at some future time, yield his assent to such a measure. On being put to the vote, there was an overwhelming majority of 151 against it. Public feeling at the time, however, was so excited, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that it was the intention of the government to introduce a bill, next session of parliament, to settle the question of church-rates—a settlement, unfortunately, not effected yet.

Little else was done by the parliament. The financial statement and budget of Mr. Disraeli, brought forward on the 19th of April, conciliated the House of Commons, and gave satisfaction to the country. The revenue had been affected by the commercial panic: there had been one the previous year; therefore, though a deficit was to be accounted for, the country was not in the humour willingly to accede to the imposition of fresh taxes. The income-tax he left at the reduced rate of 5*d.* in the pound; but he equalised the duties on spirits, and made it imperative, that every person drawing a cheque at a banker's, should put a penny stamp on it.

Some attempts were made, in both Houses of parliament, to induce the legislature to revise the Liturgy, and to omit some of the political services of the church, in consequence of their being offensive and obsolete. These attempts, however, were defeated by the strong Conservative feeling, especially in reference to the church and its affairs, which prevailed in both Houses. A motion in the Commons, by Mr. H. Berkeley, for leave to bring in a bill to cause the votes of parliamentary electors to be taken by way of ballot, was rejected by 97; 197, however, voting in its favour. Attention was several times, in both Houses, called to the offensive state of the Thames, in consequence of the vast amount of sewage continually discharged into it. It appeared that the Board of Works was responsible, and that the government did not wish to take the matter out of its hands; but Lord John Manners stated that a bill would be brought forward on the subject. A resolution, by Mr. Gibson, that "This House is of opinion that the maintenance of the excise duty on paper, as a permanent source of revenue, would be impolitic," was agreed to—a circumstance which pointed to no distant legislation on the subject.

During the session, an act was passed for the future government of the Scottish universities; and another, by which the new colony of British Columbia, in North America, was established in consequence of the recent discoveries of gold there.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 2nd of August, the royal speech containing nothing very remarkable, nor calling for particular comment. The ministry must have felt the prorogation as a relief. They were not popular; they were dependent solely on the great landlords and county constituencies. Still, their weakness was their strength. No serious opposition was made to them, as it was felt they would be powerless before it. They asked for time; originated nothing, and favoured open questions. They yielded to majorities, and passed or withdrew measures according to the temper of parliament. So, on the whole, they had had a fair trial, especially as, in the opinion of many, the Liberals are all the better for a short sojourn in the bleak wilderness of opposition. Whigs in office are



often said to be no better than Tories. Therefore, there was little weeping and wailing when it was found the session had been closed, and that Lord Derby's ministry was still in power.

The summer passed off peacefully; and the loyalty of the nation was excited and gratified by the appearance of the queen in the busy neighbourhood of Birmingham, to open a park for the people. Of late years, there had been a great disposition evinced, in the wealthy and influential circles of society, to provide, not only in the metropolis, but in the provinces, parks and other places of recreation for the working-men and their families. Sanitary reformers had been preaching so long in favour of fresh air and exercise, that at length people began to practise. Waste lands were sought after; commons were set apart; wealthy manufacturers, like Mr. Strutt, of Derby, out of their pockets paid for parks, which were handed over for the use of the people for all generations. Amongst other places to which the movement extended, was Birmingham. In 1857, a proposal was started to purchase Aston Hall and park, in the neighbourhood of that town, with the view of converting the ground into a people's park, and of appropriating the hall to the purposes of popular education, information, and amusement. The proposal was warmly taken up: the working-men contributed largely themselves to the necessary funds. By May, 1858, the arrangements were so far completed, that it was thought the park might be opened to visitors; and the managers were of opinion that it would confer great *éclat* upon their undertaking, if they could induce her majesty to inaugurate it. This she graciously consented to do; and Tuesday, the 15th of June, was fixed for the ceremony to take place. Her majesty accepted an invitation from Lord Leigh, the lord-lieutenant of Warwickshire, to take up her residence at his seat, Stoneleigh Abbey, near Birmingham. She arrived there on the 14th. The next day the park was opened amidst universal rejoicing. Triumphant arches were erected in the most important spots her majesty had to pass. One of the most gorgeous and imposing of these arches was placed on Gosta Green, by the gun-makers. It had a space of fifty feet; and the height, to the top of the banner that surmounted the royal arms, was eighty feet. The arch was crowned with the banners of all nations: in the centre was a star formed with muskets, having the bayonets fixed, surrounding the motto—"Victoria and Albert, God bless them." The arch itself displayed the words—"Welcome to our Queen," in gold letters on a purple velvet ground. Other mottoes exhibited were—"God protect the Royal Family." "The Gun-makers' Welcome to their Queen." The pillars and the arch itself were adorned with stars and other devices, formed of swords, lances, and pistols, beautifully polished; and the value of the arms used in the construction of this trophy, is said to have been upwards of £4,000. There were 200 pistols, upwards of 300 muskets, 8,000 ramrods, 4,000 bayonets, 200 lances, and 86 flags, employed in the construction of this arch.

Another royal visit this summer must not be altogether overlooked. At the distance of seventy miles, almost opposite Portsmouth, is the old Norman town of Cherbourg. Louis XIV. began to fortify it, with a view to operations against England; his successors carried out, partially, the plans which had been laid down by Vauban. The great revolution stopped the works for a time, until the first Napoleon caused them to be recommenced, avowedly with a view to operations against England. While at St. Helena he stated this very clearly. "My great object," he said, "was to renew, at Cherbourg, the marvels of Egypt. I meant to have concentrated there all my maritime forces; and in time they would, when needed, have been immense, in order to strike a grand blow at the enemy. I laid out my plan in such a manner, that the two nations would have been, so to speak, forced to struggle hand-to-hand; and the issue could not have been doubtful, for we should have had more than 40,000,000 of French against 15,000,000 of English. I should have terminated it with a new battle of Actium." Napoleon could not carry out his views to their final completion; but his successors have done so most effectually. The works at Cherbourg were proceeded with, unremittedly, under the



Bourbons and Orleanists, exciting little notice till they were approaching completion under the renewed Napoleon dynasty. Then public attention was all at once called to the place; and few foreign events occasioned more sensation than the opening of a new dock there, which, planned in 1803, was only completed in 1858; and the inauguration of a statue of Napoleon I., in August of the latter year. Louis Napoleon had only completed what his predecessors had begun—works which, if not finished, would result in an enormous waste of the public money. By many it was considered these works were a standing menace to this country. However, they were opened as if they were nothing of the kind; and the emperor resolved to invite her majesty and her ministers to visit Cherbourg on so great an occasion. The invitation was accepted; and a number of the members of the House of Commons resolved also to be present. The 4th of August was the day fixed for the arrival of the emperor and empress at Cherbourg; and the *fêtes*, attendant upon the inauguration of the dock, railroad, and statue, it was arranged should extend from the 5th to the 8th. The queen resolved to sail for Cherbourg on the 4th; and on the morning of that day her majesty embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert*, accompanied by the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cambridge. The Earl of Malmesbury and Sir John Pakington, the Foreign Secretary, and first Lord of the Admiralty, also formed part of the royal party; and several members of the household embarked on board the Admiralty yacht, *Black Eagle*. The yachts were escorted by a squadron of six men-of-war. There were *fêtes*, and banquets, and illuminations. At the grand entertainment on board the *Bretagne*, the French emperor proposed the health of the queen, in language not unworthy of remembrance. "I drink to the health of her majesty, the Queen of England; to that of the prince who shares her throne; and to that of the royal family. In proposing this toast in their presence, and on board the French admiral's ship in the port of Cherbourg, I am happy to show the feeling we entertain towards them. In effect, facts speak for themselves; and they prove that hostile passions, aided by a few unfortunate incidents, did not succeed in altering either the friendship which exists between the two crowns, or the desire of the two nations to remain in peace. Therefore I entertain the sincere hope, that if attempts are made to stir up old resentments, and the passions of another epoch, they will break to pieces upon public common sense, as the waves break upon the breakwater which, at this moment, protects the squadrons of the two empires against the violence of the sea." The way in which the toast was received showed that all present reciprocated the sentiments of the emperor; and after the lapse of a few minutes Prince Albert rose, and cordially and gracefully returned thanks, at the same time proposing the health of the emperor and empress. On the 6th, the queen returned; and thus ended the visit to Cherbourg, which was, however, discussed bitterly and warmly in the press, and occasionally by members of parliament, for some time to come.

A greater work than the completion of the forts and docks at Cherbourg was achieved at this time.

In the ancient town of Gloucester, in the year 1802, was born Charles Wheatstone, the scientific inventor of the electric telegraph. Mr. Wheatstone's connection with this wonderful discovery is set forth in an official paper, drawn up by Sir Isambard Brunel and Professor Daniell, at a time when some misunderstanding had arisen from conflicting claims as to the origin of the important invention. We reprint the document. "In March, 1836, Mr. Cooke, while engaged at Heidelberg in scientific pursuits, witnessed, for the first time, one of those well-known experiments on electricity, considered as a possible means of communicating intelligence, which have been tried and exhibited, from time to time, during many years, by various philosophers. Struck with the vast importance of an instantaneous mode of communication to the railways, then extending themselves over Great Britain, as well as to government and general purposes, and impressed with a strong conviction that so great an object might be practically attained by means of electricity,



Mr. Cooke immediately directed his attention to the adaptation of electricity to a practical system of telegraphing; and, giving up the profession to which he was engaged, he, from that hour, devoted himself exclusively to the realisation of that object. He came to England in 1836, to perfect his plans and instruments. In February, 1837, while engaged in completing a set of instruments for an intended experimental application of his telegraph to a tunnel on the Liverpool and Manchester railway, he became acquainted, through the introduction of Dr. Roget, with Professor Wheatstone, who had, for several years, given much attention to the subject of transmitting intelligence by electricity, and had made several discoveries of the highest importance connected with this subject. Among these were his well-known determination of the velocity of electricity when passing through a metal wire; his experiments in which the deflection of magnetic needles, the decomposition of water, and other voltaic and magneto-electric effects were produced through greater lengths of wire than had ever before been experimented on; and his original method of converting a few wires into a considerable number of circuits, so that they might transmit the greatest number of signals which can be transmitted by a given number of wires by the deflection of magnetic needles. In May, 1837, Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone took out a joint English patent, on a footing of equality, for their existing inventions. The terms of their partnership, which were more exactly defined and confirmed in November, 1837, by a partnership deed, vested in Mr. Cooke, as the originator of the undertaking, the exclusive management of the invention in Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, with the exclusive engineering departments as between themselves, and all the benefits arising from the laying down of the lines, and the manufacture of the instruments. As partners standing on a perfect equality, Messrs. Cooke and Wheatstone were to divide equally all proceeds arising from the granting of licences, or from the sale of the patent rights; a per-centage being first payable to Mr. Cooke as manager. Professor Wheatstone retained an equal voice with Mr. Cooke in selecting and modifying the forms of the telegraphic instruments; and both parties pledged themselves to impart to each other, for their equal and mutual benefit, all improvements, of whatever kind, which they might become possessed of, connected with the giving of signals, or the sounding of alarm by means of electricity. Since the formation of the partnership, the undertaking has rapidly progressed, under the constant and equally successful exertions of the parties in their distinct departments, until it has attained the character of a simple and practical system, worked out scientifically, on the sure basis of actual experience. While Mr. Cooke is entitled to stand alone as the gentleman to whom this country is indebted for having practically introduced and carried out the electric telegraph as a useful undertaking, promising to be a work of national importance, and Professor Wheatstone is acknowledged as the scientific man, whose profound and successful researches had already prepared the public to receive it as a project capable of practical application, it is to the united labours of two gentlemen so well qualified for mutual assistance, that we must attribute the rapid progress which this important invention has made during the five years since they have been associated. (Signed—M. I. Brunel; J. F. Daniell. London: April 27th, 1841)." Professor Wheatstone is also the inventor of the well-known stereoscope; but it is upon his scientific skill in connection with the electric telegraph that his fame will chiefly rest. At the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855, Professor Wheatstone was one of the jurors in the class of "Heat, Light, and Electricity;" and was created a Knight of the Legion of Honour for his application of the electric telegraph.

In 1859, the system had grown and prospered; and was applied to the sea as well as to the land. It was stated, at a recent meeting of the Birmingham British Science Association, that 14,000 miles of submarine cable had been laid down; though, unfortunately, but 5,000 miles of them were at work: and now the climax is reached, and the Old and the New World are joined by means of the electric telegraph. On Monday, August the 9th, the first perfect message was



despatched. It was sent from the directors in London to the directors in America, and was as follows:—"Europe and America are united by telegraph. Glory to God in the highest. On earth peace and good-will to men." The first business message was received in London on Friday, August 13th, announcing that a collision had taken place between the steamers *Europa* and *Arabia*: the latter being slightly injured, and the former obliged to put into St. John's, Newfoundland.

This great national undertaking requires a little further notice. Six years were spent in getting over all the difficulties relating to the formation of an Atlantic Telegraph Company; but at length the company was established, with a capital of £350,000, in shares of £1,000 each, and a guarantee obtained from the English and United States' government, equal to 8 per cent. on that amount. The cable was made—half by Messrs. Glass and Elliot, and half by Messrs. Newall. The conductor—six wires round gutta-percha—weighed 106 lbs. per mile; the insulator—three layers of gutta-percha—weighed 261 lbs. per mile. The sheath was made of eighteen strands of iron wire, each consisting of seven small wires; and was imbedded in a layer of jute yarn, saturated with a solution of tar, pitch, beeswax, and linseed oil. It weighed one ton per mile, and was six-tenths of an inch in diameter. In 1857, an attempt was made to lay this cable. Unfortunately the cable snapped in two; a few hundred miles of it were lost, and the remainder was brought to Devonport, where it was kept in tanks during the winter months.

On the 10th of June, 1858, the wire squadron (as the sailors called it) sailed again. The 2,100 miles saved from the former enterprise, and 900 miles of new cable, made 3,000 miles, with which to renew the attempt. On the 26th, after a stormy passage, the ships reached mid-ocean—the *Agamemnon* having one-half of the cable, the *Niagara* the other, with the *Gorgon* and *Valorous* in attendance. When the two halves had been spliced, that portion of the cable was dropped into the sea, and the ships parted company; the *Agamemnon* steaming eastward, towards Ireland, and the *Niagara* westward, towards Newfoundland, paying out the cable as they went. It was a most unlucky attempt. The cable broke on that very day; then on the 27th; and a third time on the 30th. It was mended twice; but the ships were so driven about in the hopeless attempt to mend it a third time, that the engineers became disheartened, and returned to Ireland.

Another attempt was made. As there was still enough cable on board, the ships set forth again, and reached mid-ocean on July 20th. They spliced the ends of the two cables, and made them into one. Favoured by a calmer state of the weather than before, the two ships steadily proceeded in contrary directions, paying out as they went. No mishap of any moment having occurred, the *Niagara* came in sight of Newfoundland on August 4th; and, on the next day, the *Agamemnon* reached Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland. Connections were speedily made with land-wires on both shores, and the electrical apparatus was set to work. The joy was great; and well it might be. Queen Victoria and President Buchanan congratulated each other in telegrams which speedily reached their destination. Her majesty's message contained the words—"The queen is convinced that the president will join her in fervently hoping that the electric cable which now connects Great Britain with the United States, will prove an additional link between the two nations, whose friendship is founded upon common interests and reciprocal esteem." The Lord Mayor of London and the Mayor of New York exchanged greetings; but, alas! the joy occasioned by the success of the enterprise was of short duration. The cable spoke for twenty-five days: conveying 129 messages, containing 1,474 words, from England to America; and bringing back 271 messages, containing 2,885 words, from America to England: but the effort was too great—the cable lost its voice. After September, its insulation was ruined from some cause never ascertained.

This was a serious blow: the cable was lost, and £415,000 gone. The diffi-



culties being so great, many other routes were suggested. At the same time, the commercial advantages of American telegraphy appeared too overwhelming to allow the project to sleep. Even during the short time of working the cable in 1858, it was considered that one single telegram saved the country £40,000. An order had been sent to transport troops from Canada to India during the later months of the mutiny. News from India announced it was quelled, and a telegram countermanded the embarkation of the troops just in time. A letter by mail would have been too late. As a means of keeping up public interest in the subject, a telegraphic *soirée* was held, at the house of Mr. S. Gurney, during which telegrams were exchanged with some of the most distant cities of Europe, the wires being carried into the drawing-room of the mansion. The Earl of Shaftesbury inquired after the health of the Emperor of Russia; and, in four minutes, the reply was—that his imperial majesty was quite well.

In 1859, the government agreed to guarantee 8 per cent., for twenty-five years, on a fresh capital of £60,000, for a new and much-improved cable, and to pay £20,000 a year for government despatches. Even this temptation did not at that time draw capitalists. A committee was, however, appointed to inquire into the circumstances connected with the making and laying of submarine cables; to make experiments; and to draw up a body of recommendations. Mr. Fairbairn, Professor Wheatstone, Captain Galton, Mr. Bidder, Mr. Latimer Clark, Mr. Edwin Clark, Mr. Vorley, and Mr. Seward, constituted the committee. In 1861, they presented a report, recommending improvement in the manufacture of the cable. In 1863, the directors again submitted the whole question to a scientific committee, who amplified the recommendations given by the former committee. In the early part of 1864, capitalists came forward to take new shares, and contracts were entered into for the manufacture of the cable. The Gutta-Percha Company, who made the core, and Messrs. Glass and Elliot, who made the sheath, and finished the cable, combined to form the Telegraphic Construction and Maintenance Company, Limited. In the summer of 1864, the manufacture of the cable commenced. It was finished at the rate of seventy or eighty miles a week; and the whole quantity of 2,300 miles was ready by January, 1865.

As the *Great Eastern* was lying idle, it was chartered by the directors for the purpose of carrying out the cable. Great alterations were necessary, to adapt her to the reception and safe bestowal of 4,000 tons of telegraphic wire. Three enormous iron tanks were constructed; two of them fifty-eight feet diameter; the other fifty-two feet; and all of them twenty-six feet deep. When filled with cable and sea-water, they weighed 5,300 tons. At the stern was fitted up a paying-out machine, consisting of an elaborate system of V wheels, friction-wheels, vertical guides, iron channels, guide-wheels, riding-wheels, break-straps, levers, weights, drums, guide-knives, driving-pulleys, flange-wheels, double-purchase winches, dynamometers, graduated scales, and other apparatus, to ensure the smooth and safe passage of the cable from the tanks into the sea. By June, when the ship was loaded with coal and stores, she had a weight of 24,000 tons on board, and drew 33½ feet of water. At Midsummer, just when all were ready to start, the directors raised money by means of preference shares; and they went so far as to prophesy that, by the end of July, the £5 shares would be worth £24.

The arrangements made for defining the duties and responsibilities of the persons concerned in the enterprise, were remarkably clear and systematic. The Atlantic Telegraph Company supplied the funds, chose the route, ordered the cable, and were to take it under their charge when successfully set to work. The Telegraphic Construction and Maintenance Company were to make the cable, and to submerge it, receiving payment that was to vary in amount according to the success of the making, submersion, and testing. The Great Ship Company lent their officers, ships, and men, on stipulated terms, to the Construction and Maintenance Company, by whom the responsibility of the submersion was assumed. The utmost caution was taken that there should be no clashing of authority, no



disputed liability, when the critical time arrived. The working responsibility rested chiefly with M. de Sauty, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Clifford, the chief electrician, engineer, and mechanic of the Construction and Maintenance Company. The Atlantic Telegraph Company sent out Mr. Cyrus Field to represent the directors; Mr. Varley, their electrician; and Professor W. Thompson, a great authority on all matters connected with electric telegraphy: but all these were requested to give advice only, and in such a form as to absolve their company from any liability of such advice. The Great Ship Company sent Mr. Gooch, one of their directors, to represent them. The management of the *Great Eastern* was entrusted to Captain Anderson, one of the most experienced of the Cunard officers, assisted by Captain Moriarty, whose services were lent by the Admiralty. As Captain Anderson had found, during many hundred voyages across the Atlantic, that July is generally a tranquil month on the ocean, it was resolved to make use of that period. The *Terrible* and the *Sphinx* were also lent, to render any necessary aid. The *Great Eastern* was to take the main cable, the *Caroline* the thick shore-end, to Valentia. The United States' government being in ill-humour with England at that time, would neither subsidise the cable, nor lend ships of war to assist in laying it.

The *Great Eastern* set forth on her momentous journey in the appointed month, though a week or two later than was intended, carrying a dead freight of immense value, and a living freight of 300 souls. For a time all went on well. On August the 2nd the cable snapped; four times it was raised from the bed of the ocean. All was over; there were not materials enough on board for a fifth attempt.

The *Terrible* steamed on to Newfoundland, to announce the failure to those who were anxiously awaiting the result there; and the *Great Eastern*, after placing buoys over the place where the disaster had occurred, returned home, bringing with her a staff of indefatigable men, who had nearly worked themselves to death during the incessant labours of twenty-one days. A length of 5,500 miles of cable had been, altogether, made for this Atlantic enterprise, from 1857 to 1865, and nearly 4,000 miles of it had been swallowed up by the sea. A million and a quarter sterling had been sunk, and grand hopes crushed. There was a brilliant writer, Dr. W. H. Russell, on board the *Great Eastern*, to record the proceedings day by day. There were lithographic presses and printers on board, to strike off a hundred copies or so of every day's record; there were envelopes kept ready directed to the editors of seventy or eighty papers in England and America; there was a copy of each day's lithographed diary put into each envelope, and arrangements made to forward them all to their destinations. As it turned out, however, the diary was one of disaster.

Sanguine as ever, and undeterred by misfortune, the directors made another attempt. More capital was raised; a new cable was manufactured; and, in 1866, the attempt was successful—as successful as could possibly be desired. A new cable was laid down, and the old one was raised up; and both, at the time at which we write, are in good working order.

The picking up the old cable deserves more than a passing notice. The buoys were laid down with such certainty, that the *Great Eastern* actually came foul of one, “at the very moment that her grapple was fast on the cable! The method was to get north or south of its line, in accordance with the direction of the wind and drift, the tackle hanging down so as to seize it. The nice instruments invented for the service showed to an ounce the strain upon the gear; and so soon as that strain mounted beyond the weight of the gear itself, they might be pretty sure that the lost cable was caught, and coming off the bottom.

“Never was there such a piece of hook-and-line fishing since the world began. The *Albany* got the first bite; but the great ship hooked up only ‘some soft mud, like putty, with a stone as big as half an almond.’ After a while the cable was well struck; it came higher and higher, until it was clear above water; and then, with



a loud cheer, everybody on board the *Great Eastern* hailed it, half white with the ooze of its bed—just saw it, ere it twisted out of the grapnel and rolled back again. Once more it was secured and hauled up near the surface; but the splice of the buoy and grapnel ropes slipped, and away went the evasive prize. Next, the *Albany* got a grip of it, but it parted, and she only hauled two or three miles on board. Meantime the Atlantic was in its fitful moods, and did almost all it could to spoil the sport, with seas so rough, and winds so contrary, that the *Terrible* and another consort were obliged to depart. But the determination on board the *Great Eastern*, from the captain to the cabin-boys, was to go on fishing ‘till the last biscuit and mile of grapnel rope were used up.’ The electricians boldly shifted their ground eighty miles to the eastward—hit the line with the same certainty—got a nibble or two, and then, at the *fifteenth* haul, the *Great Eastern* had hold of the cable, and brought it for good and all to daylight. There was no cheering this second time; everything was done amid the calm weather in dead silence, till the stoppers were fast, the saw was boldly put across the loose end, and the other end was brought on board. Here ensued a minute of painful suspense, while the men of science sent the all-important tests through the wire; but the next—when the cable spoke to Valentia, and all was well!—there was a ringing cheer. Nothing remained but to make the splice, and finish the glorious success. Right well was the triumph of that thrilling moment earned by everybody engaged: for everybody, we are told, worked as faithfully and anxiously as if the cable had been his own private venture.”

Nor must we omit the grand banquet given at Liverpool, in the month of October, to the layers of the Atlantic cables; presided over by the Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote, President of the Board of Trade: nor the speech of Lord Stanley, who was in office when the first cable was laid, and now again upon the successful completion of the gigantic enterprise. His lordship, in the course of his speech, said—“In my own name, and that of my colleagues, I thank you for your reception of us; and now, if you permit me, I will at once, though by an abrupt transition, pass on to the toast which has been entrusted to my care. That toast is, ‘England and America united.’ (Loud cheers.) Those words may be taken either as the expression of a hope, or as the assertion of a fact: physically the thing is done. England and America are united by an enterprise to which I shall leave my friend, the chairman, to speak in detail; but of which I cannot refrain from saying, it appears to me the most marvellous triumph of mind over matter, of man over nature, that the annals of science have as yet recorded (applause); and while England and America retain their engineering and naval pre-eminence amongst the nations of the world, I venture to predict, that the names of those who have been the workers in this great undertaking—the names of Canning, of Glass, and of Anderson—will be honourably remembered, not only on this, but on the other side of the Atlantic. (Loud cheers.) Now, what will be the effect of this new state of things, of this instantaneous communication between the Old World and the New—a communication which will, in a few years, extend over the whole of the civilised globe? So far as our colonies are concerned, much is obvious. In all matters, civil or military, in which the home government ought to interfere, it can do so with infinitely more effect; because, in critical times, instructions founded on information a fortnight or month old can be of very little practical value. So, again, in matters of trade, I suppose that the saving of labour will be considerable, and that some forms at least of speculation will be, in some degree, checked when certainty is substituted for conjecture (hear, hear): but to us, in this country, and in the present case, the diplomatic aspect of the question is the most important. We are going to bring the people of England and of the United States into a far closer connection with one another than has ever existed before. That is, in my mind, a great gain. Some-one has stated, that the opinion of foreign nations is an anticipation of the judgment of posterity; but, without adopting that phrase absolutely, it is undoubtedly true that lookers-on, not per-



sonally affected by the results of what is being done, yet feeling in them a warm interest, are thought to be able to judge better of what is passing than those who are in the thick of the fray. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I think, then, that England and America are both in a position to gain mutually fair and temperate criticism of one another's proceedings. They have no opposite interest. United they are a match for the world; while a quarrel between them would be a fearful injury, not only to themselves, but to the best interests of mankind. (Cheers.) The more they really know of one another the better; but there is something to be said on the other side; and I should not be doing my duty here if I did not say it. There may be criticism which is not fair, not temperate—criticism which is hasty, partial, passionate: perhaps on both sides of the water we have had a little too much of that (hear, and cheers); but it does not result from hostility: on the contrary, if it did not sound paradoxical to say so, I should say that it arises quite as much from an anxious desire which both nations feel that the credit of those representative institutions which are common to both, should by both be maintained. (Hear.) I do not suppose that such criticism as I have spoken of can ever wholly cease; for I have sometimes thought that England and the United States are like two individuals related by family ties, both interested for the credit of their common family, both of whom would be sorry should any real harm happen to the other: but not always agreeing in ideas, and not being of a reticent disposition, however friendly, now and then claim the privilege of relationship to express their opinion of each other's affairs, in a manner which, though it may be frank, is not always judicious or agreeable. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The lesson I draw from it is, that now that we are going to be nearer neighbours, we must learn to be sparing of such criticism ourselves, and not too sensitive or impatient when it is applied to us. (Hear, hear.) We are bound to bear in mind, that a common language, if it brings, on the one hand, immense advantages, has, on the other, some responsibilities and some inconveniences. In private life, probably, no man speaks of his friends in precisely the terms he would use were they face to face. Nations converse by newspapers; and every word which they say of one another is, by the necessity of the case, said also to one another. It is in the earnest hope that we may use our new privileges as befits us both; it is in the deep conviction that on the union of the two nations, more than on any other earthly thing, the future of civilisation depends; and it is with the conviction, also, that whoever wilfully or ignorantly estranges them one from another, is doing, on the whole, the very worst act a human being could commit—it is with these feelings that I now give you the toast, 'England and America united.'" (Loud applause.)

In the course of the evening, the chairman read a communication from the Earl of Derby, conveying the sentiments and intentions of her majesty with respect to the Atlantic cable expedition and its promoters. Her majesty was desirous of testifying her sense of the merits displayed in this great enterprise, and had commanded his lordship to submit, for special marks of her royal favour, the names of those who, having had assigned to them prominent positions, might be considered as representing the different departments, whose united labours had contributed to the final result; and had commanded him to convey her congratulations to all whose energy and perseverance, skill and science, had triumphed over all difficulties, and accomplished a success alike honourable to themselves and their country. Her majesty had accordingly directed that Captain Anderson, Professor Thompson, and Messrs. Glass and Canning, should be knighted; and that Mr. Sampson, deputy-chairman of the original company, and Mr. Gooch, M.P., should receive the honour of baronetcy. If Mr. Cyrus Field received no such mark of royal favour, it was because her majesty did not wish to interfere with what might seem to be the natural functions of the government of the country to which Mr. Field belonged, and which he had served equally with this country in the work which had been done. The chairman continued, that Lord Derby had wished to confer upon Captain Anderson some further mark more immediately connected with his own



profession; but he had been greatly disappointed to find that neither the rules of the naval service, nor the statute of the Order of the Bath, allowed him to do so.

In a commercial point of view, the need of the Atlantic telegraph was great. It was stated by Captain Hamilton, at the meeting to which we have already referred, that the annual value of our imports and exports from and to America, including the United States and the British colonies, amounted to something like £100,000,000. Taking the average time of passage at about fourteen days, there was something like £4,000,000 of property afloat between Great Britain and America; while the quantity of wheat and wheat-flour, which was imported for the subsistence of our people, averaged 9,000,000 cwt.

It is recorded that, not many years ago, amusement was excited at a dinner party in London, when one of the guests made a slender figure of steel move its arms and legs by some occult means. Nobody could understand the trick till Mr. Wheatstone, its exhibitor, displayed his little battery and its wires. The upshot of an invention which was once deemed so insignificant, is, that now continent articulates to continent; that America and England are made one; and that in so splendid a success, we have the assurance of a day when lines shall be laid under every ocean, and over every land, annihilating distance and time.

But we must return to our chronicle. In 1858, Ireland was again unusually troublesome. Under the operation of the Encumbered Estates' Act, a large amount of English and Scotch capital had been introduced; cultivation was extended; crime and pauperism were diminishing; and the aspect of the island when Lord Eglinton again took the office of Lord-Lieutenant, was very different to what it was in 1852, when his lordship held that office before; but nevertheless, secret societies—the bane of Ireland—continued to exist. The Ribbon Society revived its operations, and many murders were the result. Circulars were sent to many persons, soliciting them to join societies which were forming with a view to the benefit of the country, and the establishment of its independence. Not contented with this, and in spite of the opposition and censure of most of the Roman Catholic priests, it appeared that a conspiracy had been actually formed of a revolutionary character, and that foreign aid was to be invoked. In consequence, on the 3rd of December, a proclamation from the Lord-Lieutenant appeared, announcing the information received by government, “that societies, or associations of persons, existed in several parts of Ireland, the members of which are bound together by oaths or obligations of a seditious or treasonable character.” Persons were warned not to belong to these societies. The firm determination of the government to use all the means in its power for their suppression, and for the punishment of persons belonging to them, was declared. One hundred pounds was offered for such information as would lead to the conviction of any of the persons who had administered the oaths, and £50 for the conviction of any member of such illegal associations. This proclamation was followed by the seizure of numerous persons at Bantry, Skibbereen, Kenmare, Bandon, Cork, Kerry, Killarney, Callan, Ballydonnell, and other places. Before the year closed, nearly a hundred persons were in custody, and more were arrested in January, 1859. The charge against them was, that they were members of a secret society, called “The Phoenix,” whose object was to procure the invasion of Ireland by American filibusters, or by a French force, which the conspirators were prepared to join, to make war upon the English government. The principal evidence of the existence of this treasonable combination was derived from Daniel Sullivan, an approver or informer. The information given was confirmed by other sources.

It appeared from the statement of this man—who was a process server, and who is said, by an unfriendly witness, to have had nothing repulsive in his countenance; but a smart, intelligent, and good-looking man of about twenty-seven years of age—that he first became connected with the Phoenix Society on the 20th of August; but it must have been in existence some time before. He took two oaths—one of “secrecy,” the other of “brotherhood;” and he said the object of the



society was, to be ready to take up arms, as the Americans were expected before Christmas, and they would be joined by the French. Ireland was then declared to be an independent republic. The members were bound to secrecy; pledged to take up arms at a moment's warning; and engaged to yield implicit obedience to their leaders. They held secret meetings and drills, and had a variety of pass-words and signs: one sign was passing the right hand over the right cheek, which was answered by a motion of the right hand at the back of the left ear. Among the pass-words were—"Don't be ignorant." "Have better breeding." "The night is dark." "The clouds are dark and heavy." "We expect a war between France and England." "The Irish brigade are advancing." The conspirators appear to have had but few arms; doubtless they expected them from America or France.

The murders by Ribbon-men, and the disclosures of the machinations of the members of the Phoenix Society, alarmed many of the landowners of Ireland; and a meeting was announced to be held in the Rotunda, Dublin, on the 27th of January, 1859, for the purpose of calling the attention of government to the state of the country. This meeting was disapproved of by most of the noblemen and gentlemen connected with the Liberal party in Ireland, though several members of that party supported it; and one of the most eminent men among them, as a magistrate and a country gentleman, acted as one of the secretaries to the committee. The government, also, held out no encouragement to those who took the lead in the movement; and, at the last moment, it was abandoned. But the committee declared, in a circular issued on the 24th of January, that the secretaries and two members of that body had had an interview with the Lord-Lieutenant, of a most satisfactory nature, in which the objects of the contemplated meeting had been fully attained. Therefore, instead of meeting and passing resolutions, they presented an address to his excellency; in which they stated, that they considered it right "to press earnestly upon the consideration of the government, the feeling of insecurity for life and property, which pervaded the minds of many of her majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects." This circular was followed by one, on the 25th, from the noblemen and gentlemen opposed to the meeting, denying that life and property were more insecure in Ireland than in any part of her majesty's dominions; and expressing their opinion, that what was wanting to ensure content, was the putting the law of landlord and tenant on a better footing. There was no further attempt, in Ireland, to disturb the public peace till 1865, when Fenianism raised its head, and led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the capture of many men and military stores.

In England, towards the end of November, commenced the reform movement, which gradually spread over the country, though unattended by that earnestness and agitation which characterised the reform period of 1832. Successive governments having declared they would take up the question of reform, Lord Derby's government promised to bring in a Reform Bill in the following year. The country, at that time, seemed very indifferent upon the subject; and it was only by the efforts of a portion of the London press that any section of the public were roused into action. Some meetings, however, were held in October; and, on the 27th of that month, Mr. Bright appeared in Birmingham, at the first public meeting he had attended since his illness. There was a very numerous attendance; and, we need not add, the honourable gentleman delivered a very eloquent address. The Birmingham meeting—one of the resolutions passed at which called on Mr. Bright to draw up a Reform Bill—was followed by others: the numbers continued increasing each week, till parliament assembled in February, 1859. At these meetings, household suffrage, or manhood suffrage, triennial parliaments, and the ballot, were demanded; but, though numerous, they could not be considered as conveying the voice of the country; for in very few places could the persons attending them be deemed to represent the feelings of the mass of the inhabitants of the districts in which they were held. At most of the meetings confidence was voted in Mr. Bright, who, before the close of the year, produced a Reform Bill, the



principle of which was the disfranchising a great many small boroughs, to transfer the seats to populous districts; and, by the mass of reformers, his bill was cordially received.

In October, fears were entertained that a dispute between France and Portugal might lead to a demand for the aid of this country on the part of the latter, and occasion a war between France and England. For several years the French had been endeavouring to introduce negro emigrants, as labourers, into the West India Islands; and the Portuguese government had given permission for such emigrants to be conveyed from their colony of Mozambique to the French island of Réunion. The part of the colony from which they had to be taken was specially defined; and a French vessel, the *Charles et Georges*, having been found in a position off the coast where she had no right to be, with 100 negroes on board, the Portuguese authorities seized her. The court of Mozambique condemned her as a lawful prize. She was accordingly confiscated, and the captain imprisoned. As she had an agent accredited from the French government on board, that government took up the question, contending that the presence of such an agent was an irresistible proof that no violation of the treaty, to which France was a party, prohibiting the slave-trade, had been committed. The restoration of the ship to the owners, the liberation of the captain, and the payment of an indemnity for the loss the owners had sustained by the detention of the vessel, were demanded by France, and refused by Portugal. The latter proposed to refer the matter to arbitration; but the government at Paris, as one of its agents made a point of honour of the case, insisted upon immediate compliance with their demands; and, to enforce them, they sent two men-of-war to the Tagus, which appeared off Lisbon on the 14th of October. The Portuguese government yielded to this display of force, under protest; and Lord Derby and his colleagues were blamed, in certain quarters, for not supporting an ancient ally. The Earl Cowley and Lord Malmesbury did actually interfere, so the censure referred to fell to the ground. Fighting was out of the question. England, especially after the blunders and the disappointing *finale* of the Crimean war, had ceased to have much faith in war as a means of spreading civilisation and progress. England had always disapproved of the emigrant scheme, as tending to revive the slave-trade; indeed, many contended that it was the slave-trade under another name. After the affair of the *Charles et Georges*, the Emperor of France appointed a commission to inquire into the matter, and the result was the prohibition of the practice.

No little astonishment was created, in November, by learning that Mr. Gladstone had accepted an appointment at the hands of his political opponents, and had been sent out by Lord Derby on a mission to the Ionian Islands, which then, as usual, were in a disturbed state. In 1849, a constitution was granted to the Ionians by Lord Seaton, then Lord High Commissioner, which placed the management of their domestic affairs in the hands of a parliament, chosen by a suffrage nearly universal. At first, this concession pleased the people much; but, in 1853, intrigues against the Turks were commenced; and, from that time, the object of the people was to join with the Greeks, who were only hindered from the invasion of Turkey, during the Russian war, by stationing an allied French and English force in Athens. Mr. Gladstone had scarcely left England when the public were surprised by the appearance of a despatch from Sir John Young, then Lord High Commissioner, dated June 10th, 1857, in which he expressed his opinion that England was in a false position in the Ionian Islands; and suggested that she should retire from the protectorate, retaining Corfu as a colony. The conclusion was immediately drawn that the English government assented to the views of Sir J. Young, and that the mission of Mr. Gladstone was to carry them out. It appeared, however, that the despatches had been stolen. Sir J. Young, of course, had to resign, and Mr. Gladstone succeeded him; but the declaration of the latter, that he had not come to abolish the protectorate, or remove treaties, but merely to rectify abuses, and to promote the happiness of the people, most



materially diminished his popularity. In short, the mission may be briefly described as a failure; and Mr. Gladstone must have been glad to relinquish his power and return to England, which he did in 1859.

The year closed with a terrible accident at the Victoria Theatre, London. On the 28th of December there had been a day performance, and there was to have been an evening one. The spectators for the latter were waiting on the stairs ere the first spectators had left. The manager had provided for the exit of the day audience by a different way from that which was opened for their successors; but an escape of gas, or the ignition of lucifers or fusees, caused an alarm of fire. It is impossible to describe the confusion that ensued. Those who were going out hurried to the barriers which had been raised to prevent the crowd from entering, and attempted to rush down; while others kept ascending the stairs, and choking up the passage, unconscious, at first, that anything had occurred. The appalling shrieks that reached their ears, however, alarmed them, and they, in their turn, attempted to find their way back to the door. In the struggle which ensued, no consideration was shown to age or sex. The cry was, "Save your lives who can." Many were thrown down and trodden upon; and before the stairs and passages were cleared, sixteen persons were bruised and trodden to death, and more than fifty dangerously wounded. The accident threw a gloom over the district in which it occurred; and a few days afterwards another happened at the Polytechnic Institution, from the stairs giving way as the audience were retiring, which occasioned nearly as many casualties. Seldom, in London, had there been such fatal accidents at places of amusement.

The new year opened under unfavourable circumstances.

In France war was resolved on; and, in a little while, the peace of Europe was disturbed.

Parliament met in February; and we had a Reform Bill introduced by Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Derby administration. On February 28th, he rose for leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people of England and Wales, and to facilitate the registration and voting of electors. He opened by declaring that nothing could exceed the gravity of the subject. He then gave a brief outline of the history of the subject. Reform had been fifteen years a parliamentary question; and it was then ten years since the Prime Minister had announced, in that House, that a change ought to be made. Events prevented that opinion from being acted on; but in 1852, the speech from the throne proclaimed the necessity of making a change in the Act of 1832. In consequence, a measure of parliamentary reform had been brought forward by Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister. A change of administration prevented that measure from being proceeded with. Two years later, a minister, born and bred in the Tory camp, was also of opinion that it was his duty to recommend a measure of reform to his sovereign; and an announcement to that effect was made once more in the royal speech of 1854. In consequence, a second measure was brought forward by the government of Lord Aberdeen. The great war which succeeded it, again prevented it from making further progress. Lord Palmerston succeeded to the head of affairs; and though he, as Mr. Disraeli declared, "was considered a statesman who has no morbid sympathy with advanced opinions," yet he repeated to the sovereign the advice given by Lord John Russell and Lord Aberdeen; and the royal speech for 1857, for the third time, proclaimed that the attention of the legislature would be called to parliamentary reform. Under these circumstances Lord Derby resolved to attempt a settlement of the question himself, that it might be no longer left "for the reorganisation of an opposition, the desperate resources of faction, and the chronic excitement of the popular mind."

"We propose," continued Mr. Disraeli, "to introduce into these borough constituencies new franchises. In the first place, we shall introduce, as the foundation of the suffrage, a class of property which hitherto has not formed an element out



of which voters have been created. I mean personal property. We shall propose to allow persons who have funded property—property in bank stock, or East India stock, and bonds—to the amount of £10 per annum to exercise the suffrage. \* \* \* \* There is another franchise which we shall also recommend the House to adopt; and that is one which depends upon the possession of a certain sum in the savings bank. A man who has had £60 for a year in a savings bank will, under this, if it become law, be an elector for the borough in which he resides. Again, a man who has a pension for public service, but who has ceased to be employed in that service, whether it be her majesty's naval, military, or civil service, to the amount of £20 a year, will, under this bill, if it become law, be entitled to a vote, wherever he may reside. Then, again, sir, the occupants of a portion of a house, the aggregate rent of which amounts to £20 a year, which would be 8s. a week, will also be entitled to a vote. \* \* \* \* We have thought it advisable that the suffrage should be conferred upon graduates of all universities; upon the ministers of religion, whether priests and deacons of the church, or ministers of denominations, under regulations which the House will find in the bill; upon the members of the legal profession, in all its branches, whether barristers, members of the inns of court, solicitors, or proctors; and upon all members of the medical body who are registered under the late Medical Act. To these we have added such schoolmasters as possess a certificate from the council.”

With regard to the county franchise, Mr. Disraeli proposed to harmonise it. “We think there is a principle, the justness of which will be at once acknowledged, the logical consequences of which will be remedial, and which, if applied with due discretion, will effect all those objects which we anxiously desire with respect to the county constituency. We find that principle in recognising the identity of suffrage between county and town. I will proceed to show the House what, in our opinion, would be the practical consequences of recognising that identity. If the suffrages of the town are transferred to the county, and the suffrages of the county transferred to the town, all those voters who, dwelling in a town, exercise their suffrage in the county, in virtue of a county suffrage, will record their votes in the town; and the forty-shilling freeholder, resident in a town, subject to the provisions in the bill, which would prevent the constitutional instrument being turned to an improper use, will have a right to vote for the borough in which he resides. This, as well as the franchise founded on savings banks, will open another avenue to the mechanic whose virtue, prudence, intelligence, and frugality, entitle him to enter into the privileged pale of the constituent body of the country. Therefore, the first measure would embody this logical consequence—that it would transfer the freeholders of the town from the county to the town. But, if this principle be adopted, there are other measures, in our opinion, it would be the duty of parliament in this respect to adopt. Since the year 1832 there has been an immense increase in the population of this country, irrespective of the ratio of increase with which we are acquainted. The creation of railroads in particular districts has stimulated that increase; and thus has come to pass in England that, in a great many of the boroughs, there is a population residing who, for all social and municipal purposes, are part and parcel of the community, but who, for parliamentary purposes, are pariahs. A man votes for a municipality; he pays parochial rates and taxes; he is called upon to contribute to all purposes of charity and philanthropy in the borough; but because he lives in a part of the borough which exceeds the boundary that was formed in 1832, he is not, though he lives in a £10 house, permitted to vote for members of parliament. Now all this extramural population, in fact and spirit, consists of persons who ought to be electors in the borough in which they reside; and we, therefore, propose that boundary commissioners should visit all the boroughs of England, and rearrange them according to the altered circumstances of the time. I know that these boundary commissioners may cause some alarm in the country. I know there are traditions of party arrangements effected by that machinery, which, whether true



or not, left an unpopular recollection in the House of Commons. I believe that, in the present state of public feeling on this subject, so moderate as it is, and in the present balanced state of parties, no partial or improper conduct of that character, if it ever did take place, could be repeated." Mr. Disraeli stated, the machinery for that purpose would be the enclosure commissioners. He continued—"Coming to that part of the bill which concerns the mode of registration and of voting, I would propose that, in future, there should be a self-acting register for the counties. That the overseer of each parish should make out a list of owners and occupiers, which could be revised and added to subsequently. Under this plan no one need make a claim to be registered, unless he finds his name omitted: as to the mode of voting, I propose, in the first instance, greatly to increase the number of polling-places. There would be one polling-place in every parish where there are 200 electors; and where the number is less, the parishes would be grouped till they reached that number, and a fitting place established for each group; each voter would vote for the place where he resided, and, therefore, a residence qualification register would be kept, as well as a property qualification register. The expense of the various polling-places would be thrown upon the counties. I would not compel all voters to vote personally; and should, therefore, propose that voters might make use of 'voting-papers.' That system has been tried elsewhere, and the consequence was that 90 per cent. of the electors voted for the guardians of the poor, while, for the legislature of this great country, only 50 or 60 per cent. voted. I believe that a machinery might be devised which would prevent all attempts at deception or personification, which, if attempted, would be held a misdemeanour."

As to representation, the honourable gentleman continued—"I contrive to divide this branch of the subject into cases where there is a want of representation, and those where a representation exists, and not an adequate one. We find both of these circumstances characteristic of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and South Lancashire. There, then, are distinct interests which are not represented in this House; and some, also, which are very inadequately represented. I mean by the term 'inadequately represented,' to say that there are several distinct interests, while the present members are returned to this House by the predominating interest; the other interests, which are considerable enough to challenge and claim our consideration, being virtually unrepresented. We propose, therefore, to add to the West Riding of Yorkshire four members. Here I will not speak of population or property, because we are not about to offer a proposition to the House formed merely upon population or property. In the West Riding we find a great territory, seventy miles in length, which is purely agricultural. We find another great division studded with towns, none of them important enough, or having distinctive interests enough, to be represented; yet, in their aggregate, constituting a wonderful hive of industry and energy. And there is still another portion of the West Riding where there are blended and varied interests. We propose, therefore, to add four members to the West Riding of Yorkshire, and to divide it, not according to a mathematical arrangement as to population, but according to its separate interests. The principle of division will be in accordance with the local demarcations of wapentakes. If property be the test, the property here is identical; for, however varied in the number of their population, the property of the wapentakes is as follows:—We propose that there should be a West Yorkshire, with a population of 472,000, and a property of £963,000. That is the division in which you will find Keighley, Dewsbury, and a score of towns which you cannot summon here, but which, if you adopt these principles for your constituent body, would be voting for county members, and, therefore, they ought to vote with the distinct interests with which they are connected. We propose that there should be a North-west Yorkshire, with a population of 129,000; and South Yorkshire, with one of 225,000. \* \* \* \* We propose to add two members to South Lancashire—that is to say, we propose to distribute the county of Lancashire into three



divisions. One will be the Hundred of West Derby, and one the Hundred of Salford. These divisions are the same as those proposed by the noble lord the member for London, except that one of the hundreds of North Lancashire was inserted in the West Derby in his bill, and it now remains connected with North Lancashire. This will be an addition of six to the number of county members. There is another county to which we propose to add two members, and that is the county of Middlesex, which we propose to divide. By dividing Middlesex, the claims of Kensington, Chelsea, and a hundred other suburban districts, the claims of which have been urged in this House, will be provided for. They will form part of West Middlesex; while the distinctive interests of the other portion of the county, the northern division, will be also represented in this House. These are all the additions which we propose to make to the county representation—eight members.

“It is now, sir, my duty to call the attention of the House to those places which, because they possess distinct interests which are not duly represented in this House, ought, in our opinion, to be duly represented here. The first place which, in our opinion, ought to be represented in the House of Commons, is the town of Hartlepool, and its immediate district. There is no place in England more distinguished by the energy of the inhabitants, its rapid progress, and the character of its industry. In North Durham there are four great towns which are unrepresented, and there are two county members. In South Durham there are two county members, and no town which is unrepresented. I will not dwell upon the population of Hartlepool. I will not rest the granting of a franchise, although the population is very considerable—upwards of 300,000—on that; but I rest it upon the rapid development of its considerable industry, and the fact that, at this very moment, its importation of foreign goods is even larger than that of her coasting trade. We therefore propose that there should be a member for Hartlepool. For the same reason—that is, a place where the shipping and mercantile interests of this country are conspicuous—we are of opinion that Birkenhead ought to be represented. There is a part of Staffordshire which we think deserves and requires the consideration of the House. It is that district called the ‘black country,’ where an immense distinctive industry has arisen since the passing of the Reform Act; and we therefore propose that West Bromwich and Wednesbury shall return a member to this House. I said that we had allotted only two additional members to South Lancashire, because we thought that there were two towns in that county whose interests required to be represented in this House; and, therefore, we recommend that two members should be allotted to Bromley and Staleybridge. That will be five additional borough members. Turning now to the south of England, we find a place in Surrey which ought to be represented—viz., Croydon; and in the county of Kent, we propose that a member should be allotted to Gravesend, a very ancient town, with a distinctive character, and, in every sense of the word, entitled to a representative.”

Approaching the question of the suppression of the right to send members to parliament, the honourable gentleman observed—“It is sometimes said that there are constituencies in this country so small that it is an indefensible anomaly to permit them to exist. There are, it is true, some constituencies which cannot be defended, if the numerical majority is to govern England; but there are some very small constituencies which may perform a very important part in the representation of the principles upon which the English constitution is founded, which are still upheld in this House, and still revered in this country. I will take an instance. In all those rattling schemes of disfranchisement with which we were favoured during the autumn, when every gentleman thought he could sit down at his table and reconstruct the venerable fabric of the English constitution—if there was one point more than another in which those Utopian meddlers agreed—if there was one enemy which they were all determined and resolved to hunt down, it was the borough of Arundel. There every vice of the system seemed to be congregated—a



small population, a small constituency, absolute nomination. Well now, sir, that is very well for autumnal agitation; but let us see how it practically works in the ancient and famous society of which it is our pride and privilege to be members. There are 900,000 Roman Catholics in England, scattered and dispersed in every county and town—of course a minority. What means have they of being represented in this House, especially in the present—as I deem it—unfortunate state of feeling in England with regard to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects? There is one English Roman Catholic member of parliament, who bears a name which will always be honoured by England and Englishmen; and practically, and in the spirit of the English constitution, the 900,000 Roman Catholics of England—men of ancient lineage and vast possessions, whose feelings all must respect, even if they do not agree with—these, in every particular, find a representative in the borough of Arundel. That is the practical working of our constitution. You talk of the small number of the constituency of Arundel—900,000 Roman Catholics! Why it is more than the West Riding of Yorkshire; it is double that of the Tower Hamlets. Therefore, sir, we are not to say, because a constituency is small, that it is the source from which we must inevitably draw the constitutional means of completing the representation of England. The House will do me the justice of observing that, by the measure which, on the part of the government, I have placed before them to-night, whatever arrangements may be made with existing boroughs to find means of effecting the representation of interests not represented, without increasing the numbers of the House, no man will be disfranchised. By adopting this principle of identity of suffrage, even if a man loses the member who represented his borough, he may still go to the poll or send his voting-paper; and, under all circumstances, that is a compensation which was never offered in schemes of parliamentary reform. We do not feel it our duty to recommend to parliament that any borough represented by a single member, like Arundel, should lose its member. We do want, in order to complete the representation of the country, fifteen seats in the House.”

Then came the question as to the rule for finding these fifteen seats. “In the last census,” continued the speaker, “if you throw your eye over its parliamentary results, you will find that there are fifteen boroughs represented by two members each, and the population of which is under 6,000. Only fifteen boroughs! It will be an admirable opportunity for a display of patriotism—an opportunity seldom offered by the occasions and circumstances of society to the members of those places. I have no personal feelings on the subject. I do most sincerely and ardently hope that, when there is a new parliament, we may all meet again; but if these fifteen boroughs, now represented by two members each, though with a population under 6,000—without our using force to compel them—make this concession, we shall complete the representation of the country according to the principles upon which, I believe, our representation ought to rest. Therefore, sir, in the bill, which will shortly be in the hands of members, there are provisions that the fifteen boroughs in question shall, in the next parliament, be represented by only one member each.” These boroughs were—Honiton, Thetford, Totnes, Harwich, Evesham, Wells, Richmond, Marlborough, Leominster, Ludlow, Andover, Knaresborough, Tewkesbury, Maldon, Lymington.

After a debate on the first reading (in which Lords Palmerston and J. Russell, Messrs. Newdegate, H. Drummond, and J. Bright, took part), Mr. Disraeli replied as follows:—

“The intention of the government, with respect to the four seats still in reserve, arising from the disfranchisement of Sudbury and St. Alban’s, was, that they should still remain vacant. The honourable member for Sussex asked me whether the government could give any estimate of the reduction of the constituency by transferring the borough freeholders from the county? There is a return—in fact, I believe two returns—on the table of the House on that subject, and the number has been already stated accurately by another member of the House, in the course



of the debate. I believe the last return is 105,000. The same honourable gentleman asked me whether the forty-shilling freeholder will vote in the borough in which he resided? He will, if his forty-shilling qualification is within the borough; if not, he can vote by means of the polling-papers. I am asked, also, if it is our intention that the occupier of a £10 house, and a forty-shilling freehold, is to have only one vote? Sir, it is intended that he should have only one vote. Another honourable gentleman asks me whether I can give him any calculation of the number of voters who will be added to the constituencies by the different schemes I have introduced to-night? It would be impossible to give any estimate of that kind which could be depended on. All I can say is, that the increase will be very considerable—exceeding, I have no hesitation in saying, 500,000; but the suffrage will depend so much upon a man's own energy—so many will, I think, be animated by the avenues which would be opened for the attainment of the suffrage, that it would be impossible to give the dry statistical accounts which could be furnished if it depended merely upon property, occupation, and voting qualities alone, and which would easily be ascertainable by returns. Then the honourable member for Hull inquires of me whether the cost of polling-places for boroughs was also to be defrayed by the localities, as well as those for counties? In this bill it will be found that the cost of polling-places for boroughs will not be so defrayed, for public rooms can there be easily obtained. We do not propose to free the candidate from that expense; it is, we think, a legitimate expenditure. The honourable member for Cambridge inquires of me, whether, by the £10 qualification of the counties, I mean only the qualification which arises from the possession of a house? The bill mentions the qualification, which arises from lands and tenements."

The bill of Lord Derby having been rejected by the House of Commons, the government determined to appeal to the country. The result was an adverse decision. Lord Derby went out, and Lord Palmerston again returned to power. One result of this state of things was, that the reform question was once more left in an unsatisfactory condition. Had the Liberals accepted Lord Derby's measure; had they let it go into committee, and modified and improved it, a fair measure of reform might have been passed. Such a settlement did not suit the personal ambition of the leaders of the Liberals. Their creed was, that they alone were competent to deal with the delicate question; and, in the meanwhile, all legislative improvements are impeded; one impotent administration succeeds another; and parliamentary reform is postponed.

The Conservatives resigned on June 11th, having been beaten by a vote of want of confidence the day previous. The feud between Lord John Russell and Viscount Palmerston was healed, and the confidence of the Liberals, even of the most advanced of them, was given to the new cabinet. There had been a meeting at Willis's rooms, in which all sores had been healed, and promises of better behaviour made for the future. There was one exception—that of one who was to do much for the success of the Palmerston cabinet nevertheless: we mean Mr. Cobden. Lord Palmerston announced his determination to reserve certain seats in his cabinet for the leaders of advanced liberalism. Meanwhile, the great free-trader had not yet returned to England from America. It was only on his arrival at Liverpool that he learnt, from a deputation of gentlemen, who went off and boarded the steamer by which he voyaged, that the Premier had designated him to the appropriate office of President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Cobden determined not to accept the proffered post. He called upon Lord Palmerston, at Cambridge House, and frankly told his lordship he could not serve under him. It was understood that when Palmerston remonstrated and advised reconsideration, Cobden rejoined that he had always regarded him as a most dangerous minister for England, and that his views still remained the same. (Mr. Cobden forgot that now Lord Palmerston had passed threescore years and ten, and had reached the time when the fire and rashness of an earlier day had long passed away.) Mr. Cobden stated,



also, that he felt he would be doing violence to his own sense of duty if he attempted to act with a minister to whom he had all along been opposed.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### ITALY AND THE ITALIAN WAR.

SINCE the peace of Vienna, Austrian influence had been gradually extending in Italy. Charles Albert, of Sardinia, as we have seen, had vainly waged war with it.

At the congress held in Paris, at the conclusion of the Crimean war, Count Cavour endeavoured to induce the other powers to make a declaration in favour of establishing a temporal sovereignty in the Legation, and, generally, of Italian independence. He did not succeed; but the language then held with respect to the predominance of Austrian influence, its pernicious effects, and the disgust it excited amongst the inhabitants of Italy, alarmed the government of Vienna. From that time the relations between France and Austria became less cordial.

Count Cavour, the first of statesmen Italy has produced in modern times, was born in 1810, of one of the most ancient and wealthy families in Piedmont. As a mere boy, when enrolled among the royal pages, he provoked his dismissal by a witticism on the absurd formalities of the Court. He was then placed at the military academy at Turin, where he pursued his studies with distinction; and, in due time, was appointed to a lieutenancy of engineers. But scarcely had the young officer been introduced into the circles of the capital, ere his independence of character and powers of sarcasm soon displayed themselves so conspicuously, that his family were either cautioned or considered it prudent to send him out of the country. In those days, to be kept from royalty was looked upon as a heavy affliction, and Cavour's absence was generally regarded as an exile.

He spent several years abroad, alternately residing in London, Paris, or Genoa; pursuing his studies, and gaining the experience so conducive to his subsequent fame. Especially did he delight in works on English political economy; and his writings on finance, free trade, and agriculture, in various French periodicals, showed his depth and clearness of reasoning. Our English laws and institutions were also diligently investigated. He travelled over a great part of the United Kingdom; and his essay on the actual condition and prospects of Ireland, which appeared in the *Revue Nouvelle*, attracted considerable attention. In 1842, and not till then, did he return, or was encouraged to return, to Italy.

A gleam of hope appeared in that unhappy land. Charles Albert's leanings towards a change of system were becoming apparent in his patronage of railroads and scientific congresses, so eagerly solicited by cultivated Italians, as mediums of national intercourse and discussion. Cavour, in concert with Balbo, Santa Rosa, and others, engaged in forming the *Associazione Agraria*, the avowed purpose of which was the improvement of agriculture; in reality, it was designed, through its meetings, held, by turns, in the chief towns of the kingdom, to open a field for debate on the requirements of the country, and to foster the desire for legitimate reform. Austria detected this. A Milanese journal was suspended for having spoken favourably of the association. Cavour and his friends next started the *Resorgimento*, or Resurrection, which speedily became the most important organ of the Moderate party all over Italy. Towards the close of the year, in conjunction with Balbo, Selvio, Pellico, and others of their party, Cavour addressed a petition to the King of Naples, still inflexible to all suggestions of reform, imploring him to conform to "the policy of Pius IX., of Leopold, and of Charles Albert; to the policy of foresight, of forgiveness, of civilisation, and of Christian charity."



In the first session of the sub-Alpine parliament, in which he sat as one of the representatives of the city of Turin, Cavour soon distinguished himself as a skilful debater, and unrivalled in financial knowledge. In the stormy discussions of that period, where an assembly, entirely new to its responsibilities and the mere routine of office, found itself at war, and exposed as well to the contagion of republican France, and to the hostile machinations of Mazzini, Cavour never ceased courageously to oppose the inroad of democratic passions which elsewhere mastered the Moderates, and even seriously threatened to preponderate in Piedmont. Consequently, he was much abused by turn; and when, after the reverses of the royal army in Lombardy, in 1848, he sided with the ministry who were adverse to the immediate renewal of the war, he was reviled as a renegade and traitor. He had the courage openly to combat the extreme irritation just then prevailing against the British government, owing to its strenuous recommendations of peace, and efforts for securing it. "I hold it as certain," he said, "that England has entered frankly, honourably, resolutely into this mediation. This declaration will subject me, I well know, to be more than ordinarily taxed with Anglo-mania, and will render me the mark for the invectives of a large portion of the daily press; but whatever the fate awaiting me beyond these walls, I flatter myself that my colleagues, after hearing the reasons upon which my opinion is based, will absolve me from the grave accusation of not being as true a lover of my country as any here present." He then proceeded to demonstrate all that might be gained by prudence and delay; all that would infallibly be lost by precipitation. But these arguments, of which the soundness was only too soon experienced, completed his unpopularity, and, in a new election in January, 1849, Cavour lost his seat in the Chamber of Deputies.

Re-elected deputy in the summer, Cavour gave his warm support to the Azeglio ministry; and, in 1850, he accepted, under him, the portfolio of Commerce and Agriculture. Notwithstanding the unsettled state of the country, Cavour signalled his first year of office by a remarkable development of its commerce and internal resources. In six months he also took charge of the Ministry of Finance. In this new department his remarkable activity and administrative capacity rapidly displayed themselves. He concluded advantageous treaties of commerce with Belgium and England; laid the basis of free trade; set on foot the construction of new railroads; encouraged native manufactures; and restored so much confidence by his financial statement, that in the course of the summer of 1851, he raised a loan in England on very favourable terms, and, soon afterwards, one in Turin.

When the *coup-d'état* took place in Paris, Austria, in conjunction with two other absolute Courts (Tuscany and Naples), it is believed directed an ambassador to proffer to King Victor Emmanuel the recommendation to conform his government to that of the other Italian states, giving him, at the same time, indirectly, to understand that he might have to repent of his pertinacity in adhering to a contrary system. The abuses to which the constitution gave rise, the license of the press, and other points that had already been the subject of recrimination to these powers, were again insisted upon, with the desire of seeing representative institutions annulled in Sardinia, as they had been in their own dominions. An additional embarrassment was soon furnished by the remonstrances of France on the subject of the political refugees, whose presence so near her frontiers was considered dangerous to her tranquillity. In the discussions which ensued, Azeglio and Cavour parted company. Cavour inclined to Ratazzi, who had been a violent ultra-liberal. The important post of President of the Chamber of Deputies having become vacant, Cavour obtained it for his new ally, Ratazzi. The ministers in general disapproved of this appointment; and in May, 1852, the cabinet was remodelled, with Cavour out of office.

The parliamentary recess was spent by Cavour in Scotland and England, where he met with many of our leading statesmen. At Paris, where he appointed a meeting with Ratazzi, he procured for both an interview with Louis Napoleon.



He then returned to Italy, to be summoned to the head of affairs—a position he declined on learning that the condition annexed to this charge, was the renewal of the negotiations with Rome. In 1852, in the beginning of November, unshackled by any condition, the count became head of the Piedmontese cabinet. Meantime, Azeglio, the artist and soldier-statesman, who had done his fatherland such good service, cheerfully returned to private life, and took up his pencil to repair the inroads on his fortune, occasioned by three years of office.

For the next two years Cavour chiefly occupied himself with internal economy, and avoided the difficult and delicate question as to civil marriages, and other matters connected with Rome. In the course of 1853 alone, the government presented no less than 142 projects of law, which embraced municipal organisation, the army, finance, and public works. Immense sums were voted for the construction of railways in all the provinces; electric telegraphs were everywhere laid down, and a convention was entered into for a submarine cable between Spezia and the island of Sardinia. At the same time relations with Vienna were broken off in consequence of Radetzky's unjustly sequestering the possessions of all the Lombards residing in Piedmont.

In 1855, Cavour announced—the great step in advance—the alliance of Sardinia with England and France against Russia. In the spirit of a prophecy, which was speedily realised, in defending it in the Italian Chamber, Count Cavour exclaimed—“I hold it as indispensable to the improvement of the actual state of Italy, and exceeding all other considerations in importance, to raise up her reputation, so that all the people of the world, rulers and ruled, shall be compelled to do her justice. For this, two things are necessary; to prove to Europe, first, that Italy has sufficient sense and moderation to sustain free institutions, and to adopt the most perfect known form of government; secondly, that the military valour of her people is equal to that of her forefathers. You have as yet done Italy good service by the conduct you have pursued during seven years, proving, in the most conspicuous manner, that Italians can govern themselves with wisdom, prudence, and loyalty. It is now your privilege to render her an equal, if not greater service: it is given to our country to demonstrate how the sons of Italy can bear their part in fields of glory. I am certain that the laurels reaped by our soldiers in the East, will do more for the future fate of the peninsula than all that has been effected by those who thought to achieve her regeneration by their eloquence or their pen.”

Bowed down by successive bereavements, within a few days Victor Emmanuel had mourned the loss of the queen-dowager; of his own consort, Adelaide of Austria; and of his only brother, the Duke of Genoa, the destined general of the Crimean expedition. Influenced by the clergy, who, of course, had seen in the calamities which had fallen on the royal house a judgment from heaven, the cabinet had nearly fallen. The Piedmontese bishops, prompted by Rome, proposed to the king, on condition of the withdrawal of the motion on the suppression of convents, to take upon themselves the charges of augmenting the income of the rural clergy. More than ever solicitous of peace with the church, Victor Emmanuel's first impulse was to accede to this offer, the secret bearing of which he did not at once penetrate. But Cavour, and the rest of the cabinet, declared themselves unable to accept a compromise which would forfeit the political independence of the state; and tendered their resignation. Victor Emmanuel said he would take time to consider of it. Count Revel was sent for—the friends of freedom were alarmed. At this juncture Azeglio flew to the assistance of his former colleagues: the country was saved; and Cavour returned to office. The Piedmontese were cheered by his return to power, by the gallantry of their troops at the battle of the Tchernaya, and with the reception given in Paris and in London to their king.

At the congress of Paris, as we have seen, Cavour pleaded the cause of bleeding, oppressed, and degraded Italy; nor did he speak in vain. “The Italian question,” he said, on his return, “has now become a European question. The cause of Italy has not been advocated by demagogues, revolutionists, and sections. It has been



carried before the congress by the plenipotentiaries of the great powers of Europe. From the congress it has now passed to the tribunal of public opinion. \* \* \* \* The struggle may be long; it will demand prudence and reflection; it will be subject to fluctuations and difficulties; but I have the firm conviction that our cause will ultimately triumph."

The improvement of the country was not lost sight of in the midst of the excitement produced by these foreign questions. No department escaped the ministry's attention. Free schools, evening classes, public lectures, infant schools, and asylums, all attested its solicitude for the intellectual and moral cultivation of the people. True to the cause of religious liberty, it permitted the erection of three Protestant churches—at Nice, at Genoa, at Pignerol, for the Valdesse worship; and the members of the free Italian church held their meetings in Turin, Genoa, and several of the provincial towns, without molestation. Extensive manufactories of silk, woollen stuffs, soap, wax, and composite candles, linen, glass, and china, springing up on every side, show the spread of industrial undertakings; and of the perfection to which these may be carried, as well as jewellery, fire-arms, cabinet and wood carving, the National Exhibition at Turin, in 1858, gave some remarkable specimens. Agriculture, as may be expected from the early patron of the *Associazione Agraria*, is carefully promoted. The iron mines of Savoy and of the island of Sardinia, formerly a state monopoly, now wisely thrown open to individual enterprise, promise to become of considerable importance. The newly-opened marble quarries of the Alps and the Apennines lead to similar expectations. So great is the improvement in machinery, that the railroads which cover the state are now traversed by locomotives of native construction; and the watch-makers of Savoy rival those of neighbouring Geneva. The navy is also considerably increased; and the mercantile marine is increasing as rapidly and materially.

After the congress of Paris, the relations of Sardinia and Vienna were, if possible, less amicable than before. The Austrian emperor, who, in 1855, had purposely slighted the Court of Turin, by returning no answer to the official notification of the deaths of the two queens, was deeply hurt when he visited Milan two years after, that, of all the princes of Italy, Victor Emmanuel was the only one who sent no officer to compliment him. Additionally exasperated by the coldly contemptuous treatment he received from all classes of the Lombards, he, it was said, was with difficulty restrained from an aggressive movement against Piedmont.

In the spring of 1857, an angry remonstrance was addressed to Count Cavour, from the Foreign Office at Vienna, on the offensive tone of the Piedmontese journals towards the imperial government, and at the passive attitude of the Sardinian ministry in suffering those personalities, "by which the emperor felt himself personally aggrieved;" at the sanction given to a subscription for the hundred pieces of ordnance for Alexandria; and the reception of *pretended* deputations from the Lombard provinces, to express their admiration of a policy their own governments disapproved.

Cavour's reply, says Mr. Gretton, was considered a most skilful combination of cool reasoning, sarcasm, and intrepidity. Admitting that the language of the liberal press in Piedmont was, to his regret, often intemperate, he regretted equally that the institutions of the country only permitted him to recommend the imperial government to turn to account the means provided by the Piedmontese legislature, for the punishment of offences of this description. At the same time, he owned himself unable to understand how the hostility of the liberal journals could entail any inconvenience on the Austrian government, as their introduction into the provinces of the empire was severely interdicted; and called its attention to the fact, that the attacks of a portion of the English and Belgian press, equally, if not more violent upon the policy of Austria, had never been considered as dangerous to its security, nor ever been construed into an act of premeditated ill-will, or culpable indifference on the part of their respective governments. The sensitiveness now



displayed would lead to the inference that the Austrian newspapers themselves, in their allusions to Piedmont, never passed the limits of moderation. Far from this, however, being the fact, he contended that the virulence of their language, the personality of their attacks against King Victor Emmanuel and his ministers, yielded in nothing to the excesses of the Sardinian press, of which complaint was made; without taking into account this notable difference—that whereas the latter were the emanations of a free press often antagonistic to its own government, the former, as having been previously submitted to the censorship, and appearing in the columns of official journals, might be taken as conclusive evidence that they were sanctioned, if not even directed, by the cabinet of Vienna.

The count continued—“With respect to the demonstrations we are accused of having provoked in other parts of Italy, we defy the production of a single fact to justify the assertion. The Sardinian government having called the attention of the congress of Paris to the condition of Italy, and the necessity of ameliorating it by peaceful and legal means, this proceeding excited, without any other provocation, the expressions of gratitude and sympathy of a great number of individuals inhabiting different parts of the Peninsula. There is nothing in this to authorise the complaints of Austria. She, also, though differing as to the means to be employed, has recognised that the state of things in Italy required modification. By the acts she has recently accomplished, by those announced as speedily forthcoming, she has demonstrated that the statements of the Sardinian plenipotentiaries were not devoid of foundation, and that the approbation inspired by their efforts cannot be imputed as proofs of direct hostility to Austria.”

This explanation failed to satisfy Austria. Undoubtedly, Piedmont, under Cavour, was a bad neighbour. In the early part of 1857, the National Society of Italy was formed in Turin, with its committees; and such committees were soon spread throughout the kingdom. Its aim was to expel Austria from the Peninsula; to transfer her dominions to Victor Emmanuel. The government also encouraged deserters and refugees from Venetia and Lombardy, who were received in Piedmont, and formed into a military corps, the members of which made no secret of their object—the termination of Austrian rule in Italy. At that time, the Archduke Maximilian (the present unfortunate Emperor of Mexico; brother to the Emperor Francis Joseph) was governor of Lombardo-Venetia. He was disposed to adopt liberal measures; but was compelled to carry out the orders he had received; and before the year closed, the discontent became general and immense. The archduke had been very popular when he first assumed the government.

But Cavour felt that, by herself, Italy was no match for Austria. Something more was required—a stronger arm; and that arm was supplied by France. Louis Napoleon felt that if he aided Italy, he was enabled to realise one of his earliest dreams—to humble Austria; and, at the same time, to aggrandise France. Cavour was ready to ask; the French emperor to grant.

Accordingly, in November, 1858, the celebrated meeting at Plombières took place. The emperor and empress went there, not for its warm baths exclusively, or even principally. There his ministers followed him; and, whilst Count Cavour was invited from Italy, the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Palmerston (though not then in power) were sent for from London. A veil is drawn over the proceedings: nevertheless, one cannot go far wrong if we conclude that the subject of discussion by the distinguished party, was Italy. Rumour avers, and we have reason to believe correctly, that a treaty was then concluded between France and Sardinia, in which the cession of Savoy and Nice was agreed to by the latter, as the price to be paid for the support of the former; and to draw still closer the alliance between the two countries, a marriage between the Princess Clotilde, daughter of the King of Sardinia, and the Prince Napoleon, son of Prince Jerome, and cousin to the emperor, was arranged. During this time a considerable increase in the Sardinian army had taken place. Austria had also augmented the number of her troops; and when 1858 closed, the two powers seemed on the brink of war.



Under these auspices the year 1859 opened. The first day of that year was observed in Paris with the usual festivities; and the customary reception at the Tuileries took place. To the Austrian ambassador the emperor said little; but that little indicated much. "I regret," he exclaimed to M. Hubner, "that our relations with your government are not so good as they were; but I request you to tell the emperor that my personal feelings for him are not changed." In this little incident every one saw reason to apprehend war; and the speech produced an immense sensation all over Europe—a sensation not diminished by the official *Moniteur*, a few days after, declaring that there was nothing to authorise the fears occasioned by certain alarming reports.

Although the war against Austria had been decided upon by the emperor, intelligence reached Cavour, about the end of March, 1859, that a change had occurred in the imperial mind. On the 25th of that month, therefore, the count went in all haste to Paris, to judge for himself how matters stood. He found the emperor wavering, as if he were almost afraid of engaging in the war he had promised to undertake for the independence of Italy. Indeed, after his first interview, Cavour thought that Napoleon was desirous of withdrawing from his solemn engagement; and he had made up his mind to carry out the plan of his country's redemption by summoning all the revolutionary elements in Italy, and trusting to the strength of his cause, and the valour of his countrymen.

Baron Hubner, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, had got hold of the change in Louis Napoleon's mind; and he therefore desired Count Buol to assume a threatening attitude towards Piedmont, as he assured him both the ruler of France and his ministers had decided to abandon Sardinia to her fate. The advice of Baron Hubner was accepted. Austria became decided. However, though the Austrian representative was well informed at the beginning of this transaction, he was not so at its end. Cavour having had a second conversation with the emperor, succeeded in making him change his mind; and it was decided that the first pretext should be seized upon to declare war against Austria. Cavour returned to Turin completely victorious, while Baron Hubner still thought that his adversary had failed in his negotiations.

Towards the middle of April, Garibaldi was suddenly summoned to Turin by Count Cavour. The famous Italian leader was, as usual, in bad humour with the prime minister of the king. Distinguished by courage, disinterestedness, and public spirit; bred to simple and daring occupations; endowed with an unbounded frankness—Garibaldi had no great liking for Cavour. He thought him too proud of his descent, and of his intellectual superiority. Nevertheless, Garibaldi obeyed the summons, and learnt that the hour was at hand to strike for Italian freedom, and that his aid was required. Moreover, he was informed of the condition upon which the assistance of France had been secured. Garibaldi is reported to have replied to Count Cavour as follows:—"Although my principles are known both to you and the king, I feel that my first duty is that of offering my sword to my country. My war-cry shall be, therefore, 'Italian Unity, under the constitutional rule of Victor Emmanuel.' Mind, however, what you are about, and do not forget that the aid of foreign armies must always be paid for dearly. As for the man who has promised to help us, I ardently wish he may redeem himself in the eyes of posterity by achieving the noble task of Italian liberation." When Garibaldi departed from this conference, he did so as commander of the *Cacciatori della Alpi*—a corps of volunteers, which had been organised by General Cialdini.

Need we stop to narrate the marvellous career of Garibaldi—a career resembling romance more than reality—a name beloved and revered by the friends of freedom in every corner of the globe! There are few who are not familiar with that calm, saintly face, and have not followed the career of the hero. Now, as in 1848, when the Roman assembly charged the triumvir to save the honour of the republic, and repel force by force, he was the man of the hour. May we just cast a retrospective glance at that brief day of glory! "It was then," wrote Dumas,



“the providential man appeared. Suddenly a great cry resounded through the streets of Rome, of—‘Garibaldi! Garibaldi!’ And an immense crowd cheered as they preceded him, throwing their caps in the air, and waving their handkerchiefs. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm which took possession of the population at the sight of him. He might have been thought to be the protecting god of the republic, who hastened to the defence of Rome. The courage of the people increased with their confidence, and it seemed as if the republic had not only decreed defence, but victory.” But to return. Garibaldi’s division, though slight in numerical strength, was, in itself, a valuable army. It was formed from the best elements of Lombardy, of Romagna, and of the minor duchies; the guides and the Genoese sharpshooters had to provide their equipments and their horses; and in their ranks were, therefore, to be found the youth of the most wealthy families of Genoa, Milan, and Bologna. It was felt that, once in Lombardy, such a body of men, commanded by so illustrious and popular a general, would not fail to recruit its ranks, and become the nucleus of national insurrection.

While these warlike preparations were going on in Piedmont, the latter was imperiously required, by the Court of Vienna, to disband the free corps in three days. The summons was, of course, a declaration of war. Austria had lost her temper, and was, at last, fairly caught in the trap which Cavour had so ably prepared for her. Baron Kellersberg, the bearer of the imperial despatch, was sent back to Milan at the expiration of the third day, and the Austrian general, Gyulai, was then ordered to put into execution the threatened invasion of Sardinia.

It may be added that, previously, Earl Cowley had gone to Vienna, in the vain hope of preserving peace. The British cabinet considered Austria had taken a rash step in its summons to Piedmont. It solemnly protested against it; “assigning to Austria, and fixing upon her, the last responsibility for all the miseries and calamities inevitably consequent upon a conflict which was on the eve of being averted; but which, once begun, would produce a more than ordinary amount of social suffering and political convulsion.” The censure was unjust. Austria, if she meant to retain her hold on Italy, had no alternative but to fight for it. France and Piedmont both meant war. Count Cavour made one last effort to get the Derbyite administration on his side. Knowing it to be far from friendly, he sent Mazzinio Azeglio, and Commendatore Nigra, towards the end of April, to London, in the hope of convincing the magnates of Downing Street that the threatening attitude of Austria had rendered peace impossible. It does not appear that much good came of this mission, as, a fortnight after, a member of the government attempted to mystify this country, by speaking of the struggle then proceeding in the plains of Northern Italy, as “the war now raging in Italy, *for some purpose which no one can understand.*”

Gyulai’s first step was to invade Piedmont on the right and the left bank of the Po. England made one more attempt at peace. The answer from Paris was, “It is too late.” On the 2nd of May, Victor Emmanuel addressed a proclamation to the Italians, in which he called the nation to arms. The Sardinian regular army consisted of five excellent infantry divisions, of about 13,000 men. Each division had two battalions of Bersaglieri; a regiment of cavalry; three batteries of artillery, of six guns; and a company of sappers. There was a division of cavalry, under General Samberg, numbering sixteen squadrons, to which two batteries of horse artillery were attached. The numerical strength of this division was 2,200 horse, and twelve pieces of artillery. The French army consisted of the Imperial Guard, commanded by General Regnault de Saint Jean d’Angély; and of five *corps d’armée*, under the orders of M’Mahon, Canrobert, Niel, and Prince Napoleon.

On the 12th of May the French emperor made his entry into Genoa. The people were in a state of joy, almost savouring of delirium. He addressed his soldiers—“I come to place myself at your head, to conduct you to the combat. We are about to second the struggles of a people now vindicating its independence,



and to rescue it from foreign oppression. This is a sacred cause, which has the sympathies of a civilised world. I need not stimulate your ardour. Every step will remind you of a victory. In the Via Sacra of ancient Rome inscriptions were chiseled upon the marble, reminding the people of their exalted deeds. It is the same to-day. In passing Mondovi, Marengo, Loda, Castiglione, Ancona, and Rivoli, you will, in the midst of those glorious recollections, be marching in another Via Sacra. Preserve that strict discipline which is the honour of the army. Here—forget it not—there are no other enemies than those who fight against you in battle. Remain compact, and abandon not your ranks to hasten forward. Beware of too great enthusiasm, which is the only thing I fear. The new *armes de précision* are dangerous only at a distance. They will not prevent the bayonet from being, what it has ever been, the terrible weapon of the French soldiery. Soldiers! let us do our duty, and put our confidence in God. Our country expects much from you. From one end of France to the other the following words of happy augury re-echo—‘The new army of Italy will be worthy of her elder sister.’” The emperor arrived at Alexandria on the 13th, and took the command-in-chief of the allied army. He resolved to make the attack on the Austrian right, and massed his troops on his own left, following the Austrians in what was now a retreat. After several skirmishes, which produced no results, the first action took place on the 20th of May, at Montebello. The Austrians were defeated, with the loss of about 15,000 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners. The Austrian general had been completely out-manceuvred. At the same time the whole of the French received an order to prepare to change its front. This strategetic movement, one of the most skilful recorded by military historians, was commenced on the morning of the 28th of May. The strictest secrecy was preserved, and there were but few of the French staff-officers who knew the real intentions of the emperor. The last and most important orders were only despatched during the night of the 29th, and the greatest care was taken that no suspicion of the contemplated design should reach the Austrian general-in-chief. In less than three days this remarkable movement was made, with astonishing order and precision, almost under the very eye of the enemy.

The Sardinians gradually concentrated at Vercelli; the French occupying the posts they vacated as they advanced. On the 30th of May, they crossed the Tesin at several points; drove the Austrians from Palestro; and, on the 30th, beat a corps of 20,000 men, who attempted to recover possession of that post. On the 1st of June, the allies made a demonstration to the east, which caused the Austrians to continue their retreat by Vigevano, Bereguardo, and Pavia. This backward movement was made in a most orderly manner: the enemy were closely followed by the Austrians and Sardinians. On the 3rd, the Austrians re-crossed the Ticino; and, the same day, General M'Mahon crossed the river, and established himself on the Austrian territory. On the 4th, Napoleon resolved to make an attack upon the enemy, in concert with General M'Mahon. His majesty, at the head of the Imperial Guards and the Zouaves, crossed the Ticino by the bridge of Buffalora, and advanced to Magenta, which stands on the direct road from Novara to Milan. M'Mahon directed his march to the same place, and both divisions of the allies had to force their way against the determined resistance of the Austrians. M'Mahon decided the fate of the day, by driving the right wing of the Austrians, after a fierce conflict, from Magenta. Driven back also from every other point, they withdrew, on the approach of night, to Abbiategrasso, leaving 6,000 prisoners—chiefly Italian deserters—in the hands of the enemy. Their loss was, as estimated by the French, 5,713 in killed and wounded: that of the victors was stated, by the same authority, to have been 2,958. For his share in the victory, M'Mahon was created a marshal of France, and Duke of Magenta.

But we must return to Garibaldi, who, in the beginning of May, was summoned to head-quarters, to confer with Victor Emmanuel as to the conduct of the campaign in Lombardy. After a great deal of talking over maps, and



much discussion of strategetical combinations, Garibaldi begged to be allowed to observe that he would not undertake to carry out any concerted plans, and that he wished to be left to his own daring aspirations. The king's reply was—"Go where you like; do what you like; I feel only one regret—that I am not able to follow you." In five hours Garibaldi was at the head of his dashing volunteers. He and they were soon on Lombard soil. At Varese, and Mauro, and elsewhere, he thoroughly defeated the Austrians, under Lieutenant-marshal Urban; and escaped the latter, who made sure of crushing him by his superior strategy.

"There is," writes Count Arrivabene in narrating this affair, "something apparently supernatural in the life of the Italian leader. Few generals could have so wonderfully escaped from the grasp of an overpowering enemy, who felt certain of surrounding him; and, indeed, had taken measures for that end. The ability shown by Garibaldi during the short campaign I have just sketched, and in subsequent operations, was, no doubt, the result of his experience; and the successes he achieved are mainly to be attributed to that power of comprehensiveness which he possesses in so high a degree. Being an excellent mathematician, he at once studies the ground on which he is going to operate; calculates all possible combinations of strategy and tactics, and acts accordingly. Endowed with the greatest determination, he never hesitates. His plans being once settled in his mind, he strikes instantly, dares all issues, and succeeds. There is, besides, another consideration, which may appear strange at first sight; but which, nevertheless, is confirmed by experience. The secret of Garibaldi's victories is to be found principally in the system he has adopted, of doing almost always the contrary of that which is suggested by the strict rules of war; in a word, of acting quite in opposition to what the enemy would expect him to do. In the campaign of Upper Lombardy, Urban had always thought—and he was right, according to the principles of war—that Garibaldi had a base of operations—a line from which, in case of reverse, he could fall back upon the allied armies. Hence the indecision of the Austrian general; hence Garibaldi's marvellous escape from Villa Medici. It is true that the Italian leader did everything to confirm the Austrian commander in his opinions; but the fact is, that his communications with the Sardinians were almost cut off, without the Austrians being aware of it. He always acted alone. His principal aim was to spread the insurrection among the Lombard population; and he pretended to fall back upon the Franco-Sardinian army, in order to advance more rapidly. With the intuition of military genius, he conceived that, by gaining the Lake of Garda, and occupying the mountain districts of Gardonne and Sala, the Austrians would be obliged to send a considerable force in pursuit of him; and that this would help the allied forces, in case a reverse should retard their progress towards the Mincio. The means resorted to by Garibaldi, in order to lead his adversary astray, were no less vigorous, and always succeeded. His plan is to deploy as many forces as he can spare, in opposite directions. When he first arrived at Como, he sent Captain Jesrari, with 150 men, to Leno; then he ordered sub-lieutenants Cavano, Pissarro, and Zeffrina, to lead, each of them, twenty or thirty men on three different roads, to attack the Austrians wherever they should meet them, without, however, engaging themselves too much. He then made the enemy believe that he was at the head of numerous troops; and the Austrians were easily kept in error. This system had also the advantage of impressing the people of the country with his superiority in numerical strength, and of inducing them to take up arms against their oppressors. The effect of this skilful plan was, that when Urban retired on Mauro, he was quite convinced that General Cialdini's division was operating with Garibaldi; whilst, in fact, the first-named general was then engaged at Palestro, with Baron Zobel. To act upon Urban's mind, Garibaldi, now and then, sent telegraphic messages to Cialdini from different places, knowing that they would be intercepted by the Austrians. In one sent from Como, he said—'Help me: Urban will attack



me to-morrow; I cannot resist.' From Varese he had telegraphed—'I am obliged to fall back upon you. Send the cavalry to support my backward movement.' Neither Cialdini nor any other general were within the reach of such telegrams. There was, however, a general who read them, and who never thought they were concocted with a view to his own deception." And thus Urban, at the head of 10,000 excellent troops, was never able to isolate and surround 3,000 Cacciatori, under General Garibaldi.

We now resume the story of the allied forces. The result of the victory of Magenta was, that the capital of Lombardy was open to the monarchs. Louis Napoleon was overwhelmed by his reception. The Milanese had never before seen a liberator within the walls of their city. Charles Albert had only passed through it after the rising hopes of Italy had been crushed at Custoza. But now they beheld before them the chief of the generous French army. No wonder they were in ecstasies of delight. "How this people must have suffered!" the French emperor was heard to exclaim. Better still than this demonstration was the fact that the revolution was already spreading itself in the minor states of Italy. The Duchess of Parma had thought it prudent to leave her territories on the 9th of June. Two days afterwards, Francis V., following the retreating movement of the Austrians from Ancona, Bologna, and Ferrara, towards the Po, abandoned his Lilliputian dukedom of Modena. The population of these states, freed from their former masters, followed the example of the Tuscans and the Lombards, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel their king. In less than seven days the pope lost the Legations, and the petty sovereigns their dominions. Unity was the war-cry of the Italians, both in the centre of the peninsula and in the north. But unity did not find favour in Louis Napoleon's mind, and had not been anticipated in his convention at Plombières. To stop the revolutionary movement which pervaded the peninsula, and to prepare the Italians for the idea of a confederation, were therefore thoughts which might have been traced, by a keen observer, in the conduct of the emperor, even before the battle of Solferino.

The retreat of the Austrians was not made without fighting; but the only important action was that on the 8th of June, when a body of several thousand men, under General Benedek, which was isolated from the main army, was attacked by the French at Melagnano. The fighting continued that day, and part of the next; the Austrians lost 1,500 men, but were not prevented from continuing their retreat. On the 14th of June, the Emperor Francis Joseph arrived, and took the command-in-chief. On the 18th, the army crossed the Mincio, and was centred in the Quadrilateral, so called from the four fortresses of Legnano, Verona, Mantua, and Peschiera, which were considered to constitute it the key of Lombardo-Venetia; and, on the 20th, the emperor established his head-quarters at Villafranca. Strange to say, just as his system of state-craft was about to collapse, Prince Metternich died.

After a few days' repose, the allies, following the movements of the Austrians, occupied Lonato and Castiglione, and prepared to take up strong positions on the west side of the Mincio, as it appeared to be the intention of the enemy to concentrate their forces, and make a stand on the eastern bank of that river. Although the Emperor Francis Joseph had nominally taken the command, since the resignation of Gyulai, of the army of Italy, the direction of the military operations depended on General Hess. He seems to have been in ignorance of the movements of his adversaries; and they were equally ignorant of his. With an army reinforced by the garrisons of various Italian cities, he was enabled to bring into action 156 battalions and eighty-eight squadrons, which, artillery included, numbered 140,000 men. Inasmuch as these were all fresh troops, while the French had already suffered from long marches and actual engagements, there was probably no great disparity between the combatants. General Hess divided his imposing force into two armies; the second, under the command of Count Schlik, formed the right wing, and was to take possession of Castiglione and Lonato,



marching through the hilly country, which extends from Volta to the Lake of Garda; while the first army, which, under Count Wimpffen, formed the left wing, was to march through the plain on Montechiaro. The plan of General Hess was skilful, and its success was probably regarded by him as certain, the Austrians having exercised there since 1815. It failed, however, owing to the inability of the general to change his design in accordance with the altered circumstances. On the morning of the 24th of June, the engagement began. The length of the Austrian line was not less than ten miles, and the key of its frontier was Solferino. Cauziana, where, at the commencement of the battle, Francis Joseph established his head-quarters, may be considered as its centre.

Early on the morning of the 24th, the corps under the command of Baraguay d'Hilliers and M'Mahon, found themselves in the presence of the enemy. At 5 A.M. the engagement commenced. On receiving the messages of his marshals announcing the fact, Louis Napoleon at once ordered his staff to precede him to Castiglione; whilst he himself, escorted by the Cent Gards, drove, with all speed, in the same direction. He was fully aware that a great battle had begun. Turning to one of his aides-de-camp, he said—"The fate of Italy is, perhaps, to be decided to-day."

When Louis Napoleon arrived at Castiglione, the fight, which had simultaneously begun on the right and in the centre, had also become more serious on the left. Alighting from his carriage, the emperor ascended the steps of St. Peter's church, from whence the great panorama spreads around. As he surveyed the ground, the smoke of the guns enabled him to form an exact idea of the different combinations of the battle then being fought. The directions he sent his generals as soon as he descended, certainly evinced the penetration of the experienced commander. "He at once perceived," says Count Arrivabene, "that the object of the Austrians was to divert the attack of Solferino by outflanking the right of the French army, filling up the space between the second and third corps, and thus cutting the enemy's forces in two. The emperor, therefore, commanded the cavalry of the Imperial Guard, under General Morris, to join M'Mahon, to whom he sent orders to dislodge the enemy from Morino's farm; he also directed General Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angély to march with the Imperial Guard behind the heights on which the first corps was fighting."

These orders were soon executed. The farm was invested by Decaens; Auger shelled it with his rifled guns; a sharp fight took place, and the enemy was obliged to fall back on his reserve, advancing from Guidirino. Auger's shells and shrapnels burst by hundreds amidst the Austrian columns massed in the plain; while their round shot scarcely reached the front of the opposing forces.

It was soon after the taking of Morino's farm that Louis Napoleon joined M'Mahon, to communicate his plan to him. In a few words he told the duke to watch the movements of the enemy on his right wing, and to maintain himself on the plains which separated him from the fourth corps. He was also to prevent the Austrians dividing his forces from the first corps, and was not to miss any opportunity of bending towards Cauziana as soon as the attack of Baraguay d'Hilliers on Solferino succeeded, and Niel's corps had made its appearance. To keep open the communication of his corps with that which Niel commanded, the cavalry of the Imperial Guard was to take up a position on his right.

Judging from these instructions, the plan of the emperor appears to have been clear and precise. His design was to carry Solferino at any cost, and then, by a flank movement, to beat the enemy out of his positions at Cauziana. It is not requisite that we describe here the varied fortunes of the day. It suffices to say, after a severe and protracted struggle, the French were victorious, and in the afternoon the enemy were compelled to begin a general retreat. Baron Benedek, who since the morning had been engaged with Victor Emmanuel's army on the right, was directed to hold his ground, in order to protect this retreating movement, and then slowly to follow, placing his corps under the protection of the guns of Peschiera. He obeyed, but reluctantly; for he had hoped to have struck a decisive



blow at the Sardinian army, which, as he afterwards said, he would have driven into the Lake of Garda. The retreat, however orderly, was so rapid, that the Austrian emperor, who is reported to have wept at the ruin of his fortune, had hardly time to gain the cross-road leading from Cauziana to Valeggio. Two hours afterwards Cauziana was filled by his victorious adversaries; and Casa Pastore, which had been the temporary dwelling of Francis Joseph, opened its doors to receive the rival emperor. When the retreat began, the scene of battle was visited by a fearful tempest—one of those summer storms which envelop in a whirlwind of rain and fire the whole of the country they fall upon. Dark clouds hung over that immense field of death, and lightning and thunder rivalled and subdued the glare and roar of man's artillery. The loss on both sides was enormous. Of the Austrians, at least 20,000 were killed and wounded; 6,000 were made prisoners; and seventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies. The French had 12,000 privates and sub-officers, and 720 officers, and the Sardinians 6,000 rank and file, and many officers, put *hors de combat*.

On the 28th of June, the allies having replaced the bridges destroyed by the Austrians in their retreat, crossed the Mincio without opposition. On the 30th, the French emperor established his head-quarters at Villafranca, at which time Peschiera, on the Lake of Garda, was invested by the Sardinians; Verona by the mass of French troops; and a strong force was detained to watch Mantua, and prevent any attack from its garrison. On the 1st of July, Prince Napoleon joined the allied army with 35,000 troops from Central Italy, and expectation was at its height, anticipating the result of an attack upon the famed defences of Venetia, when all Europe was startled by the intelligence that, on the 8th of July, in consequence of overtures from the Emperor Napoleon, an armistice was concluded between the belligerents, to extend to the 25th of August.

Cavour was as much deceived as the rest. Two days, says Count Arrivabene; after the battle of Solferino, Count Cavour, and his intimate friend and secretary, Nigra, had a long interview with the French emperor. They found Louis Napoleon exceedingly disgusted with the quarrels of his generals; deeply impressed by the horrible scenes of war he had just witnessed for the first time in his life; but, above all, proud and delighted that the military glory of France, and the superiority of her army over the Austrians, had been once more splendidly asserted. It was generally affirmed, at the Sardinian head-quarters after this interview, that the emperor, far from intimating that it was his intention to make proposals of peace, hinted to Cavour, that to ensure the total defeat of the enemy, he had made up his mind to help the Hungarians. This report was strengthened by the evidence of facts; one of the latter being the appearance of Kossuth's army at the French head-quarters.

Yet, at that very time, General Fleury was receiving from the Kaiser at Verona, an affirmative answer to the letter in which Louis Napoleon had proposed an armistice. Victor Emmanuel and his generals were overcome with emotion.

On the morning of the 11th, the two emperors met at Villafranca. What passed at that meeting, which lasted little more than an hour, nobody can tell. It has been stated, however, that the two conversed sometimes in Italian, but more frequently in German. During the conversation, Louis Napoleon, as if mechanically, picked to pieces some of the flowers placed in a vase before him, the petals of which were found scattered about on the floor, at the side of a table where the landlady of the house had noticed that he sat. When the sovereigns left the house, and appeared in the streets, to present to each other the officers of their staffs, the younger looked pale and embarrassed; the elder gay, and at ease. The proud descendant of the Hapsburgs, doubtless, felt bitterly the humiliation of that period. Louis Napoleon had satisfied what was thought to be one of his greatest desires—the dealing in person with a legitimate emperor. Nothing was written by the two monarchs at this meeting. On returning to Valeggio, Louis Napoleon sent for his cousin, and despatched him as a plenipotentiary to



Verona, that he might arrange with the Austrian emperor the preliminaries of the famous peace which was definitely settled by the treaty of Zurich. On the evening of the same day, he informed Victor Emmanuel of what he had done.

Mortified and surprised beyond all description, Cavour, as soon as he heard the unwelcome news, rushed from Turin to Mourand, to have an audience with his royal master. The great statesman's face was scarlet; and his manner, usually bright and gay, now the reverse, indicated the storm that raged within. The interview lasted about two hours; and it was a tempestuous one. It was stated at the time, that the first words spoken by Cavour were anything but respectful towards the French emperor. He advised Victor Emmanuel at once to reject the terms of peace, and to withdraw his army from Lombardy; thus leaving Louis Napoleon to extricate himself from the difficulty of the situation as best he might. Cavour plainly told his sovereign that Italy's honour had been betrayed, and her dignity offended; he even went so far as to advise an abdication. It is said that, during the discussion, the king showed a degree of calm of which he was scarcely thought capable. He tried in all ways to appease the excitement of his minister, who, overcome with grief, seemed almost to have lost his mind. It was generally reported that Cavour's rage went so far as to induce him to use words which led to his dismissal from Victor Emmanuel's presence. Cavour resigned rather than be a party to such a peace.

On the evening of the 12th of July, the emperor left Morambano for Milan, on his way back to France. The dead silence of the crowd which thronged the streets of that city, and of Turin, when he passed through them, must have told more powerfully than the most passionate utterance could have done, what were the feelings of the Italians on the Villafranca agreement. The local authorities were, fortunately, able to prevent any hostile demonstration; but Louis Napoleon could not mistake the attitude of the masses. In answering an address of the governor of Milan, he said that he was surprised at the ingratitude of the Italians. This remark the French emperor, perhaps, would have spared, had he reflected that the Milanese could not possibly resign themselves to the thought that Venetia, and other Italian provinces, had been sacrificed, either, as Cavour said at the time, to the considerations of a selfish policy, or to a hasty impulse of the emperor's changeable mind. Italy was to be free from the Alps to the Adriatic. Alas! the magnificent promise of Louis Napoleon had not been fulfilled. Mrs. Barrett Browning's poem, *A Tale of Villafranca*, is so appropriate, that we must here quote a part.

“A great man (who was crowned one day)  
Imagined a great deed.  
He shaped it out of cloud and clay;  
He touched it finely, till the seed  
Possessed the flower; from heart and brain  
He fed it with large thoughts humane  
To help a people's need.

“He brought it out into the sun—  
They blessed it to his face;  
‘Oh, great pure Deed, that hast undone  
So many bad and base!  
Oh, generous Deed, heroic Deed,  
Come forth, be perfected, succeed,  
Deliver by God's grace!’

“Then sovereigns, statesmen—north and south—  
Rose up in wrath and fear,  
And cried, protesting by one mouth,  
‘What monster have we here?  
A great Deed, at this hour of day?  
A great, just Deed, and not for pay?  
Absurd—or insincere!’



- “ ‘And if sincere, the heavier blow,  
 In that case, we shall bear;  
 For where’s our blessed *status quo*;  
 Our holy treaties, where  
 Our rights to sell a race, or buy,  
 Protect and pillage, occupy,  
 And civilise despair?’
- “ Some muttered that the great Deed meant  
 A great pretext to sin;  
 And others, the pretext so lent  
 Was heinous (to begin).  
 Volcanic terms of *great and just*  
 Admit such tongues of flame, the crust  
 Of time and law falls in.
- “ A great Deed in this world of ours!  
 Unheard of, the pretence is,  
 It threatens plainly the great Powers;  
 Is fatal in all senses.  
 A just Deed in the world?—call out  
 The rifles! be not slack about  
 The national defences.
- “ And many murmured, ‘From this source  
 What red blood must be poured!’  
 And some rejoined, ‘Tis even worse;  
 What red tape is ignored!’  
 All cursed the doer for an evil;  
 Called here, enlarging on the devil;  
 There, monkeying the Lord!
- “ Some said it could not be explained;  
 Some, could not be excused;  
 And others—‘Leave it unrestrained;  
 Gehenna’s self is loosed.’  
 And all cried, ‘Crush it; maim it; gag it!’  
 Set dog-toothed lies to tear it ragged,  
 Truncated and traduced.’
- “ But he stood sad before the sun  
 (The peoples felt their fate);  
 ‘The world is many, I am one,  
 My great Deed was too great;  
 God’s fruit of justice ripens slow;  
 Men’s souls are narrow, let them grow;  
 My brothers, we must wait.’”

The peace agreed to between the high contracting parties was on the following bases:—“The two sovereigns will favour the formation of an Italian confederacy. That confederation shall be under the presidency of the holy father. The Emperor of Austria cedes to the Emperor of the French his rights over Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, so that the frontier of the Austrian possessions shall start from the extreme range of the fortress of Peschiera, and shall extend in a direct line along the Mincio as far as Grazio, thence by Senzarolo and Suzzara to the Po, whence the actual fortress shall continue to form the limits of Austria. The Emperor of the French will hand over the ceded territory to the King of Sardinia. Venetia shall form part of the Italian confederation, though remaining under the crown of Austria. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena return to their states, granting an amnesty. The two emperors will ask the holy father to introduce indispensable reforms in his states. A full and complete amnesty is granted on both sides to persons compromised in the late events, in the territories of the belligerent parties.”

On the 12th of July, Napoleon announced the conclusion of peace to his army, telling his soldiers that the principal end of the war had been obtained, and Italy would become, for the first time, a nation. Venetia, it was true, remained to



Austria, but it would form part of the Italian confederation; and "Italy being henceforth the mistress of her destinies, it would be her own fault if she did not progress in order and liberty." The troops were further told, that "they would soon return to France, and their grateful country would receive with delight the soldiers who carried the arms of France to such exalted glory; who, in two months, had freed Piedmont and Lombardy, and who only stopped because the struggle was likely to assume proportions which were no longer in relation with the interests which France had in that fearful war." The same day Victor Emmanuel issued two proclamations; one to his troops, praising their valour, and telling them that important affairs of state calling him back to his capital, he had entrusted General Marmora with the command of the army. The second to the people of Lombardy, whom he congratulated on having had their independence assured by the preliminaries of peace; and calling upon them "to trust to their king, who, established on solid and imperishable bases, would promise happiness for the new countries which Heaven had entrusted to his management." Francis Joseph also addressed a proclamation to his army; in which he said that he "entered on the struggle for the sanctity of treaties, relying on the enthusiasm of his people, the valour of his army, and the natural allies of Austria." He spoke in high terms of the heroism of his troops, fighting against an enemy superior in numbers, and which still remained firm, courageous, and unflinching. But, without allies, he yielded to the unfortunate circumstances of policy, in presence of which it was his paramount duty not to uselessly shed the blood of his soldiers, and impose fresh sacrifices on his people. These proclamations, as we may suppose, took the uninitiated by surprise.

Of the preliminaries of peace, agreed to at Villafranca, a definite treaty was created at Zurich, where the Baron de Bourqueney and the Marquis de Bonneville represented France; the Count Collorodo and the Baron de Meyrenburg, Austria; and the Chevalier Desambrous, Sardinia. They held their first meeting on the 6th of August, and did not finish their labours till the 11th of November. On that day the treaties, three in number, were signed. The first, concluded between France and Austria, stipulated for the cession of Lombardy to France. By the second, between France and Sardinia, the former ceded that province to the latter. By the third, to which the three powers were parties, peace was re-established between them. The debts of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, which had been the great difficulty, were thus arranged:—Sardinia was to pay Austria £10,000,000, and France £2,400,000, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, which, according to Count Walewski, amounted to six times that sum. The signing of the treaties was followed by an agreement, entered into between the two emperors, to assemble a congress, for the purpose of communicating to the other powers the treaties just concluded, and to deliberate on the measures which held out the most likely prospect for the founding the pacification of Italy on solid and durable bases. Invitations to the different powers were sent out by France and Austria, and the day of assembling was fixed for January 5th, 1860. We may here state, that the preliminaries of Villafranca, and the treaties of Zurich, were alike disregarded by the Italians. Mazzini had taught Italian unity; Garibaldi was its propagator. The successes of 1859 had filled all Italy with hope and courage. The French emperor had put his hand to the plough, and looked back. Not thus acted Garibaldi.

On the 10th of August Victor Emmanuel made his solemn entry into the capital of Lombardy. Previous to that year many centuries had elapsed since the people of Milan had greeted the arrival of a true Italian monarch in that city. After the battle of Magenta the king had passed a few days there, but the enthusiastic reception he met with on that occasion was, to a certain extent, shared with his powerful ally. Matters had now greatly changed. The peace of Villafranca, in the estimation of the Milanese, absolved them from the duty of unbounded gratitude towards the emperor; and, at the same time, strengthened



the ties which united them to the gallant sovereign of their choice. In the meanwhile great political events were occurring. Farini had been appointed dictator of Modena and Parma, by the unanimous vote of the Chambers of those states. Lionetto Ciprino was governing the Legations with almost dictatorial powers; and Baron Ricasoli was enforcing, with the determination of his ancient Roman character, the unmistakable will of the Tuscans, as manifested in their assembly. The principle of Italian unity, under the constitutional rule of Victor Emmanuel, was thus established over a large part of the peninsula. Although the resignation of Count Cavour had thrown the government of Sardinia into the somewhat less firm grasp of Ratazzi and La Marmora, the mover of the political machine was still the great Italian statesman, who had been forced by the unexpected peace to retire into private life.

A still greater man, Garibaldi, was in retirement.

The army of Central Italy was placed under the orders of General Fante. Garibaldi was then under him. The liberator wanted to advance to Rome; he was held back by Fante and French diplomacy, and had no alternative but to resign. Before leaving Romagna for the island of Caprera he had a sad duty to perform.

On the shore of the Adriatic, not far from Ravenna, spreads the far-famed "Pineta," a pine forest of the ancient Romans. In the middle of this forest died Anita, Garibaldi's darling and noble wife. After the fall of Rome, the hero having failed in an attempt to sail for Venice, was wrecked with Anita and a few daring friends on the shores of the Adriatic, not far from Cernia. A few devoted peasants tended him till he reached a farm belonging to Count Guiccioli. Anita was on the eve of making her husband the father of a third child. She had gone through all the hardships of a stormy voyage without a murmur; she had courageously walked through a part of the thick forest; but at last she fell to the ground, exhausted and heartbroken, and on entering the farm she expired in his arms. At a mile from the farm there is a solitary chapel. Before leaving the peninsula, Garibaldi, accompanied by his children Teresa and Menotti, hastened to that chapel, to behold once more the grave of his faithful companion. The twilight hour was spreading its soft shades through the alleys of the forest, as the hero trod the same paths he had trodden in 1849, when hunted by the Austrians like a wild beast. A priest was waiting, who conducted them to the altar, near to which the humble tomb of Anita was to be seen covered by a black drapery, adorned with wreaths of flowers, freshly gathered. A mass was performed in the chapel, and Anita was mourned and wept anew.

And now Garibaldi leaves the land he has loved well, and well fought for—the land of which he is the most illustrious hero—and betakes himself to the bleak island of Caprera. "When proscribed, and all but a prisoner in the island of Maddalena, he saw lying before him," writes Dumas, "the desolate and rocky isle of Caprera."

"This extraordinary man, who had spent twenty years of his existence in fighting for the liberty of two worlds, whose life had been that of long devotion and self-sacrifice, sighed bitterly when he reflected that he did not even possess a stone on which he could lay his head.

"It then occurred to his thoughts, that the man who should possess that island, who could live there alone, far away from the contentions of men ever eager to persecute and tyrannise one another, would indeed be happy.

"Ten years afterwards, Garibaldi, who never imagined that he should be that happy mortal, succeeded to the inheritance of 40,000 francs, by the death of his mother.

"He at once bought this island, the object of his ambition, for the sum of 13,000 francs; and then purchased a small vessel for 15,000 francs more; and with the rest, assisted by his son and his friend Ozzigoni, he built a white house, visible from the sea—the only building, indeed, on the island."



In 1860, in the spring, Garibaldi is at Turin, in his place in parliament. Cavour is once again premier. The deputies have somehow learnt that Savoy and Nice are to be ceded to the generous friend that made war for an idea. This sad fact had been already anticipated by some Italian politicians, for it was known that when, two months before, General Dahormida, the Minister for Foreign Affairs during Ratazzi's administration, went to Paris to settle the war expenses claimed by France, a hint was thrown out that if those two provinces were made over to her the sum would not be asked for. Cavour was subsequently induced to consent to the sacrifice, as the only means of removing the opposition of Louis Napoleon to the annexation of Central Italy. On the 19th of April the discussion began. At one o'clock the galleries of the Chamber were filled with people, for it was known that Garibaldi intended to attack the advisers of the crown, for having betrayed the interests of the nation in consenting to the cession. "The scene I witnessed that day," writes Count Arrivabene, "will never be effaced from my memory. There was something very affecting when the great Italian general rose, and, in a stern voice, began to read the fifth article of the constitution, by which no sale or barter can be made of any part of the state without the sanction of parliament." Garibaldi, as we know, pleaded in vain. The vote was strongly urged as a political necessity; and, as such, carried. As for Victor Emmanuel, it is stated, that when he heard that the cradle of his ancestors was asked for by his powerful ally, tears came into his eyes. No doubt he was prepared for the sacrifice, for he well knew of the arrangements of Plombières; but as the peace left Venetia to Austria, he had hoped that the sacrifice would have been spared.

Disappointed in parliament, Garibaldi again recurs to the sword.

In May the party of action was ready. "Sire," wrote Garibaldi to his majesty, "the cry for help, which reaches me from Sicily, has touched my heart, and the hearts of some hundreds of my old soldiers. I have not advised the insurrectionary movements of my Sicilian brethren; but, as they have risen in the name of Italian unity, personified in that of your majesty, against the most disgraceful tyranny of our age, I did not hesitate to take the lead of the expedition. I know that I am going to embark on a dangerous undertaking; but I trust in God and in the courage and devotion of my comrades. Our war-cry will be—'Italian Unity—Long live Victor Emmanuel! its first and bravest soldier.' Should we fail in the enterprise we have undertaken, I trust that Italy and liberal Europe will not forget that it has been determined by the most unselfish sentiments of patriotism. Should we succeed, I shall be proud to adorn the crown of your majesty with a new and, perhaps, its brightest jewel, on the sole condition that you will prevent your advisers from handing it over to foreigners, as has been done with my native country. I have not communicated my project to your majesty, for I feared that the great devotion I feel for you would have succeeded in persuading me to abandon it."

Sicily had long writhed under the brutal sway of the Bourbons, and its people were ready to revolt. Even then they were in a state of insurrection, when Garibaldi, with 1,067 volunteers, landed at Marsala on the 11th of May. On the 15th, he defeated, after a fight of three hours, the Neapolitan general. At Palermo, where a reign of terror had existed—for it was known that Garibaldi was coming—Dumas writes—"The very name of Garibaldi was as a tower of strength to the patriots, and a sufficient consolation for all they had to endure.

"Children, whenever they were near a *sbirro*, chanted, in every variety of tone, 'Garibaldi is coming!—Garibaldi is coming!'

"The wife, deprived of her husband—the mother of her son, and the sister of her brother—instead of shedding useless tears, all hopefully exclaimed—'Garibaldi is coming!'

"The popular exultation increased so much, that the *sbirri* appeared to shudder at the reiterated mention of this name, so terrible to every head of tyranny.



"A crowd gathered in the principal street of Palermo. The Neapolitan ruler determined he would make them cry—'Long live the King of Naples!'

"A group of soldiers and *sbirri* accordingly entered the street, shouting—'Long live Francis II.!' "

"Not a single response was made by the people.

"The soldiers and *sbirri* then surrounded a group of bystanders, exclaiming, vehemently and loud—'Long live Francis II.!' "

"Still not a sound was heard in reply.

"After an ominous pause, a man threw his hat up into the air, and cried loudly—'Long live Victor Emmanuel!'

"The words were scarce uttered when he fell pierced with bayonets.

"Then the musket, the bayonet, and the poniard did their deadly work. Two men were killed, and as many as thirty persons, including women and children, were wounded.

"The whole population retired without replying to this wanton effusion of blood—this murderous massacre—in any other words than those so simply emphatic, yet so terrible to the baffled *sbirri*—'Garibaldi is coming!—Garibaldi is coming!'

"The next morning all the horrible details of this unprovoked massacre were everywhere talked about; fathers, while peaceably walking with their children, had been grievously wounded, both themselves and their young ones; others, again, men and women, who had fled for safety into some *café*, had been pursued thither, and sabred by the *gendarmes*.

"The next day, indeed, Palermo presented a very alarming appearance. Like the warning of Belshazzar, the walls of the town bore the equivalents to the terrible 'Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin,' in the simple phrase—'Garibaldi is coming!—Garibaldi is coming!'

"During the whole day the streets remained empty, and the windows were all closed. But when the evening had set in, the shutters were reopened, and all through the night anxious looks were directed towards the vast amphitheatre of hills round Palermo, in the hope of perceiving the lighted beacons that were to announce the arrival of the long-expected assistance from the interior of the island.

"One morning—it was the 13th of May—a cry rang through the town—'Garibaldi has landed at Marsala—the avenger has come.' "

On June the 6th, the Neapolitans signed a convention to evacuate Palermo, and the whole of Sicily, except Messina, Melazzo, and some other less important fortresses. Now that he was master of Palermo, Garibaldi did not rest idle. He increased his troops; he summoned all the resources Sicily could afford; he hired steamers; bought arms and ammunition, and made every preparation to resume the campaign. On the 20th of July the battle of Melazzo was fought, and that decided the fate of the island.

He now turned his undivided efforts to the emancipation of Naples. L'Armata Meridionale, as it was called, had been greatly increased; indeed, so much so, that, aided by the insurrection, it could have easily matched the legions of Francis II. Its organisation, of course, was somewhat irregular. The first brigade, under General Eber, a Hungarian of great literary and military merit, was about 2,000 strong; the second, commanded by Bixio, numbered 25,000. These divisions had for their chief General Turr, the well-known Hungarian officer. The second division was under Cosenz, a Neapolitan of distinction, and possessing great military knowledge. Count Millitoz, Sacchi, and Eberhardt were the three brigadier-generals of the division, which was 8,000 strong. Medici, a Lombard, rather heavy and rough, but undoubtedly the best general of the army, was in command of the fourth division, which numbered 4,800 men. To these divisions was to be added that which Colonel Pinciani had intended to take into the papal states, but which joined the rest of the army in Sicily. At a later period, 500 Hussars, under the command of Caussimi; 300 Guides, commanded by Missori; 450 artillerymen,



under Orsini and Sciala; and 160 engineers, completed this curious army, which had been organised within a period of three months. The navy was composed of the steam-sloop *Velore*, and eleven steam transports. The Marquis Anguissola, the Neapolitan commander of the *Velore*, had passed over with his vessel to the national cause. With these forces, Garibaldi undertook and accomplished the annexation of a kingdom which might have been defended by a well-organised army of at least 80,000 men. But the right cause was on his side: he had with him the majority of the Neapolitan population; and, above all, he was surrounded by that *prestige* which is in itself an army. Under such a leader the march was an ovation. Towns were taken, and armies surrendered scarcely without firing a shot. In Basilicata the insurrection was in full swing. Colonel Boldone, formerly in the service of the Neapolitan government, and a country gentleman, named Nignona, were in command of the revolutionary bands of Basilicata, which numbered about 8,000 men. These, added to the Calabrians, and the 25,000 troops forming the regular army of the revolution, enabled Garibaldi to bring into the field a respectable force, one-third of which, at least, would have matched an equal number of any European army. In the general and well-developed insurrectionary element lay the true secret of those bold movements of the dictator, which ended in so signal a triumph. Garibaldi, with only a few of his followers, was always thirty or forty miles in advance of the leading column of his army. Had it not been for the insurrection and the dread which his name inspired in the Neapolitan soldiers, he might have been made prisoner a hundred times without his army knowing it till days after. At Salerno, the manifestations of the popular joy were such as Count Arrivabene (who attended the expedition as the reporter to the *Daily News*) had never seen surpassed. It was a sort of madness such as only southern races fall into. The demonstrations were those of a people who had abruptly passed from a state of utter slavery to freedom—from inaction to action—from death to life.

On his accession to the throne of his father, Francis II. found the kingdom he had inherited in a state of complete moral dissolution, chiefly brought about by the ferocious system of government which had signalised the reign of Ferdinand II. Corruption on a large scale had been carried on by every class of functionaries, from the highest to the lowest. There were few magistrates, generals, or government officers, who could not have been bought; the only question was, as to the best way of offering the required price. The administration was, consequently, thrown into a state of utter confusion; and the army reduced to a body of prætorians, who only cared for their private interests, honour and courage having deserted their banners. Favours were bought, impunity secured, political and private revenge countenanced, nay, encouraged by the government. Thousands of good citizens were driven from their native country—carrying with them into foreign lands, or into the free state of Piedmont, a lively picture of the sufferings of their fellow-countrymen, and of their own miseries. The all-powerful, cruel, and corrupt police, were aided in their tyranny by the influence of Austria and Rome; and all this while the northern part of the peninsula was prospering under the rule of a constitutional king, and progressing towards the unification of the country, through the valour of the army, and the wisdom of the people. The difference between the two systems was the more striking, because the standard of happiness was to be found within the common country. Happiness and gradual amelioration had become the lot of Piedmont; misery and moral degradation were the fate of Naples. The new king, badly trained by an Austrian step-mother, came to the throne, only to follow the path his father had trod with such fatal success. He had been educated by the Jesuits. His character was weak: he deemed himself a ruler by right divine; and totally unacquainted with the wants of our age, he was led to believe that he could uphold a system which was in every way founded on an entire negation of human rights. England, Sardinia, and France warned him, and remonstrated in vain. Why



should he heed their words? France was ruled by a parvenu; England and Sardinia were the upholders of revolutionary principles. Such was the reasoning of this foolish king. It was from Rome, and Vienna, and St. Petersburg, that he condescended to take advice.

But events had struck down Austrian pride and power. The guns of Magenta and Solferino had emancipated Italy from her embrace. No sooner was Francis Joseph humiliated, than the petty sovereigns of Italy were swept away, and the position of Francis II. became more perilous every hour. The rising of the Sicilian patriots had, though quenched in blood for a time, been revived with greater force on the appearance of Garibaldi on the island. After having failed to satisfy the popular demands by charging General Filangieri with the formation of a hybrid Liberal government, the young king saw the necessity of evoking from the tomb the constitution of 1848, which his father had stifled after the 15th of May of the same year. But, unfortunately for him, though fortunately for Italy, the day for such a compromise was gone by.

In his distress, Francis II. sent Signor Manua to Turin, charged with the duty of negotiating an offensive and defensive alliance between the two kingdoms—an alliance which had been contemptuously rejected by the Neapolitan Court, when proposed by Sardinia only six months before. But it was too late; Garibaldi had already entered Palermo. In vain ambassadors pleaded the cause of the unfortunate king in London and Paris. In his own Court there were conspiracies against him.

"Two days after the victory of Melazzo," writes Count Arrivabene, "Alexander Dumas volunteered to go to Naples on board his yacht *Emma*, in order to watch the course of events, and try to hasten the revolution. On his arrival at Naples, the famous romance writer began to carry out his revolutionary projects, and turned the deck of his yacht into a perfect tailor's shop, where red shirts were openly manufactured under the windows of the king. With all the activity of his nature, Dumas enlisted new conspirators; secretly spread Garibaldi's manifestoes; distributed arms and ammunition; and, in short, became the most active agent of the national propaganda. So far, indeed, did he go, and so openly did he act, that the French admiral and the French ambassador intimated to him, that if the Neapolitan government should order his arrest, they would not protect either his yacht or himself. Dumas, however, is not easily frightened, so he pursued his work all the same."

In the meanwhile Garibaldi had crossed the straits, had captured Reggio, and had begun his progress towards Naples. Don Liborio Romano, seeing that the first throw had been gained by the dictator, thought it expedient to lay down the conditions on which, if Francis II. should lose the others, he would step in and serve the new master. Knowing that Dumas had been sent to Naples by Garibaldi, Don Liborio went to see him, declared himself a warm Garibaldian, and offered his co-operation. This, of course, he professed to do for the good of his country; for there is no man, however cynical he may be, who does not try to justify a reprehensible action by alleging the uprightness of his intentions. The practice is said to be held in great favour by the Jesuits; and Don Liborio seems to have studied in that school with great effect. All the arrangements for the conspiracy were therefore discussed by the minister and the French author. They were to communicate through Signor Corroborgo, Don Liborio's private secretary; and in case the plot should be discovered, a safe refuge for the minister was negotiated by Dumas with the commander of a foreign man-of-war, who was told that Don Liborio might find himself under the necessity of applying for his protection.

The conspiracy, though carried out with the greatest secrecy, was, however, detected by the secret police of the Court. A few days before the flight of the king, Francis II. called his Home Secretary into his cabinet, and abruptly said to him—"Don Liborio, I know that you are keeping up secret relations with Alexander Dumas, and that you are treating with Garibaldi."

"Yes, sire," answered Don Liborio, "it is my duty to watch the intrigues of



your enemies; and, in order to follow them more closely, I have resorted to the artifice of assuming the character of a conspirator."

Count Pahlen gave a similar answer to Paul I., the day before the emperor was strangled.

Thus betrayed on all sides, Francis II. fled to Gaëta. At six on the evening of the 7th of September, Francis II. and his queen, accompanied by the gentlemen of the royal household, and the ambassadors of Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, went on board a Spanish man-of-war, and steamed along the bay towards Gaëta. The only tears which accompanied him in his flight, were shed by a few fisherwomen of Santa Lucia, whose curate had told them that the miraculous Madonna was bitterly weeping for the cause of the fugitive king. Not a man of that populous city was seen to bid a last farewell to the departing vessel. Except the ministers and the courtiers, there was no one beneath the deserted portico of the royal palace to pay the last tribute of compassion to an unfortunate prince. Francis II. might have exclaimed, in the language of Tennyson—

"Woe is me!  
Authority forgets a dying king,  
Laid widow'd of the power, in his eye,  
That bow'd the will."

When the Spanish man-of-war, which carried the last Bourbon sovereign of Naples to Gaëta, was leaving the harbour, the Neapolitan frigate, *Guiscardo*, was lying hard by. Francis II. asked the Spanish commander to stop and put the galley to sea, as he desired to go on board the latter vessel, with a view to persuading the commanding officer to follow him with his ship to Gaëta. In a few minutes the king was on the deck of the *Guiscardo*, only to experience another disappointment. He harangued the crew, he adjured the officers; but the crew were violent, and the officers answered that they could not recognise the royal authority. Great inducements, and even threats, were employed by the gentlemen of the king's suite to induce the seamen to return to their duty, but all was in vain. The commander of the *Guiscardo* was not to be moved; and Francis II. left the deck in despair, muttering now and then the words, "I have been betrayed; I have been betrayed."

Meanwhile Garibaldi arrives in Naples. A weak attempt to organise a provisional government, and to proclaim Victor Emmanuel king, has failed. Accompanied only by a few followers the warrior of freedom entered the city. He has little to fear as he drives under the guns of St. Elmo or Castelnuovo, still garrisoned by the troops of the departed king. "He is aware of his moral force: he knows that the people of Naples are thronging the streets and piazzas only to see and cheer him; and that not one of those soldiers would dare to fire a gun or a musket at the man of fate, the asserter of the people's rights. His carriage makes its way through the dense masses of applauding spectators. He has just reached the church of the Carmine, in front of which once rolled the severed head of the Italian Coradino; and in whose holy precincts flowed the blood of the young revolutionary fisherman, Masaniello. The crowd grows thicker and thicker. The wide roads of the Mandracchio, of the Largo di Castello, and of the street of San Carlo, are so choked with people that it is almost impossible for the carriage to break through. Missori, Statetta, and Nullo, are the heralds who precede the modest *cortège*, and succeed in opening the path. They pass the corner of the Toledo, and at last reach the palace of the Forestra. Garibaldi alights from the carriage, and is received by the National Guard and the *Eletti*, or municipal councillors. Don Liborio Romano had already joined him at the station. But an immense multitude, almost wild with joy, are assembled in the west piazza. They call upon the dictator to show himself, and Garibaldi appears upon the large balcony of the palace. Addressing the people, he tells them that they must prove to Italy that they are worthy descendants of Masaniello. He then retires, for he has more important work to do."



Flushed with success, the party of action, having rescued Naples, were now eager to dash on to Rome. In Naples itself matters were progressing more rapidly than the wise and moderate desired. Mazzini had come, and there had been a talk of a republic. Cavour saw that the best means of thwarting the danger was by striking a blow which, while it would prove fatal to the temporal power of the pope in Umbria, would re-establish, on a firmer basis, the *prestige* of the constitutional monarchy throughout the peninsula, and hasten the annexation of the Neapolitan provinces to Sardinia. The mercenary legions which, under the command of Lamoriciere, were gathered in the Roman states, and the dissatisfaction of Pio Nino's subjects, were enough to justify the course which the cabinet of Turin had adopted. An assurance that France would not effectually oppose the crossing of the papal frontier, had been obtained from Louis Napoleon at Chambéry, when it was urged by Farini, that, if Sardinia were not allowed to enter the states of the church, Garibaldi would undertake the task in the name of the revolution. The campaign in Umbria having been decided on, Sardinia again took the lead of the Italian movement. On the night of the 10th of September Cialdini crossed the papal frontier at Saludicchio, while Fante marched from Arezzo on Foligno. Military operations, therefore, had begun; and they were to be carried out, till Victor Emmanuel should be enabled to effect his junction with Garibaldi on the Volturno.

The organisation of the army was Garibaldi's first occupation after his arrival in Naples. Towards the middle of September he was able to occupy the positions before Capua with an army of 37,000 men. On the other side of the Volturno Francis II. mustered an army of about 43,000 soldiers; among whom was a fine body of cavalry, from 7,000 to 8,000 in number. Screened by the line of the Volturno, and enabled to obtain provisions and ammunition by sea from Gaëta, and by land from the road to Velletri, Francis II. was in a position to hold his ground until the hoped-for Austrian and papal reinforcements should arrive to help him. Being master of so strong a position, he could threaten Naples at any moment, for, by a bold march of twelve hours, his army could easily reach it.

Whilst in this position news came of the victory gained by Cialdini over Lamoriciere, at Castelfidardo. This was a great military event. The advance of Victor Emmanuel's army in the rear of the Neapolitans deprived the latter of their advantages of position. They had, therefore, no alternative but to try the fortunes of war, and assume the offensive against Garibaldi. Francis II. was quite aware that, if he could succeed in routing the Garibaldians and reoccupying Naples, diplomacy would arrest the march of the Piedmontese, and thus restore him to the throne of his fathers. He accordingly held a council of war at Capua, in which it was decided, that on the 1st of October, his birthday, the whole of his army should be concentrated between Capua and Cajazzo; then, crossing the Volturno at different points, and falling upon the Garibaldians, should, if possible, cut through their line, and march on the capital. The attempt was made, and signally failed. Garibaldi, with about 11,000 men, resisted 30,000 Neapolitans; and had routed them as soon as his reserve, scarcely numbering 5,000, reached the field of battle. The Garibaldians had thus won the day by themselves; for the report then spread throughout Europe, and still believed, that the Piedmontese arrived in time to help them, is totally unfounded. Garibaldi's success was followed up by Bixio on the 2nd, when he captured 5,000 of those Bavarians and Neapolitans whom he had beaten the previous day, and who had in vain attempted to re-cross the Volturno. The loss sustained by the Neapolitans on the 1st may be reckoned at 2,500 killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners. The Garibaldians had 1,280 *hors de combat*, and 700 prisoners and missing. Such were the losses in the battle of Volturno. In a few days after, Capua fell into Garibaldi's hands.

Political affairs in Southern Italy now entered on a new phase. The plebiscite had already determined, by 1,303,064 votes to 10,312, that the Bourbons should cease for ever to rule over a country they had so long misgoverned.



Garibaldi had accomplished his task. He had won Naples, and presented it to Victor Emmanuel, as a noble contribution towards the sacred cause of Italian unity. The parting was not pleasant: the reward righteously earned, was unrighteously withheld. Garibaldi asked that he should be appointed for three years governor of Southern Italy, with almost dictatorial powers; that the decrees he had signed during his dictatorship should be respected, in so far as they did not oppose the constitutional laws of the country; and that the rank conferred upon him by his companions-in-arms should be recognised by the new government. The first of these demands was peremptorily refused; the second and third, the ministers of the king were only disposed to grant upon certain conditions. In his interview with the king at the royal palace, Garibaldi renewed his application, and could not be persuaded to desist from it. It is even stated that, on this occasion, the general said to Victor Emmanuel—"Get rid of Cavour, and allow me to march on Rome." To which the king is reported to have answered—"I will not get rid of my Premier, and you shall not go to Rome." Victor Emmanuel having failed to bring about the reconciliation which he desired, there remained nothing for Garibaldi but to leave Naples.

And, with thirty pounds, the dictator of the richest provinces of Italy—the man who had added 9,000,000 of people to the Italian kingdom—went back to his island home. When informed of the low state of his treasury, he said with a smile—"Do not be anxious, Basso; we have at Caprera plenty of wood and corn, which we will send to Maddalena for sale." In justice to Victor Emmanuel, it must be stated, that Garibaldi was repeatedly offered rewards and distinctions, all of which he declined.

The remainder of the story of Italy, so far as concerns this narrative, may soon be told. Francis II., morally supported by the presence of a French fleet, determined to make a last stand in Gaëta, trusting that Austria would, sooner or later, come to his rescue. Having chosen those which he considered the best regiments of his army, he shut himself up with about 16,000 men, and prepared for the worst. On their side, the Piedmontese, under General Cialdini, established themselves, towards the end of November, 1860, at Mola, and began the siege. On the 14th of February, 1861, Gaëta surrendered to Cialdini; and the king and queen left, on board the French ship *Mouquette*.

Italy was soon called on to sustain, in the sudden and unexpected death of Count Cavour, a heavy loss. Count Arrivabene writes—"There are deaths which induce us to mourn rather for the living than the departed; and conspicuous among these was the death of Cavour. Subsequent events have impressed this sad conviction on every Italian heart; for, from the 6th of June, 1861, to this hour, not a day has passed on which thoughtful Italians have not had occasion to say to one another—'Had Cavour lived, public affairs would have progressed satisfactorily; escaped this danger, or avoided that delay.' And not one of my countrymen doubts that, were Cavour still with us, we should, by this time, have proclaimed the unity of Italy from the capital. There may have been Italians whose plots Cavour hated 'with the warmth of a brave and honest man;' and who, in their turn, did not shrink from outraging his memory after death; but these, to the honour of my country be it said, were few in number—a small class of rabid politicians, who exercise no influence over public opinion. The memory of Count Cavour is honoured in Italy with a unanimity rarely manifested in any country, or in any age; for Italians feel that a great sorrow has befallen the land from which Cavour has departed, after having rescued it from the slavery wherein it had been plunged for centuries. Italy can unquestionably boast of other men, who, both by their moral influence, and by the deeds they have performed, are entitled to the gratitude of their fellow-countrymen; and foremost among them, I need not say, stands the valiant conqueror of Naples and Sicily. Yet the services of Cavour exceed by far the achievements of all others. He it was who prepared and gave the first impulse to the great national struggle of 1859. He was the



mind of Italy; the rest were but its arms. From the first assumption by Cavour of the duties of Prime Minister, in November, 1852, down to the 30th of May, 1861—the very day he was taken ill—he was the very soul of the Italian movement. His prodigious activity was equal to any demand that might be made on it. He was not only the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but the *de facto* minister of every department. He found time to attend to everything—to give the necessary impulse to all the branches of the public administration. \* \* \* \* Engrossed with Neapolitan affairs at the period when he was stricken with mortal illness, the recollection of them haunted his fervent brain. Even a few hours before his death, ‘I will have no state of siege,’ he continually repeated while his last hour was approaching. It was by the beneficent influence of good laws, and wise administrations, that he hoped to bring the annexed provinces of the south to a steady and orderly condition. The mistakes he had been led into by the so-called *consorteria* of political exiles, he willingly confessed; and he had already set to work to have repaired them, when his exertions were cut short by death.” All Turin was present at his funeral, in common with the bodies of state, national authorities, and deputations. The theatres at Turin, Genoa, Milan, and elsewhere, were shut up for two evenings.

In his farewell address to his companions-in-arms, Garibaldi said—

“We must consider the period which is just drawing to a conclusion as almost the last stage of our national resurrection, and must prepare ourselves to finish worthily the marvellous design of the elect of twenty generations, the completion of which Providence has reserved for this fortunate age.

“Yes, young men! Italy owes to you an undertaking which has merited the applause of the universe. You have conquered, and you will conquer still, because you are prepared for the tactics that decide the fate of battles. You are worthy of the man who pierced the serried ranks of a Macedonian phalanx, and who contended not in vain with the proud conquerors of Asia. To this wonderful page in our country’s history, another more glorious still will be added; and the slave will show, at least, to his free brethren a sharpened sword, forged from the links of his fetters. To arms, then, all of you!—all of you!—and the oppressors and the mighty will disappear like dust. You too, women, cast away all cowards from your embraces; they will only give you cowards for children; and you, who are the daughters of the land of beauty, must bear children who are noble and brave. Let timid *doctrinaires* depart from among us, to carry their servility and their miserable fears elsewhere. This people is its own master. It wishes to be the brother of other people, but to look on the insolent with a proud grasp; not to grovel before them, imploring its own freedom. It will no longer follow in the trail of men whose hearts are foul. No! no! no! Providence has presented Italy with Victor Emmanuel. Every Italian should rally round him. By the side of Victor Emmanuel every quarrel should be forgotten—all rancour disappear. Once more I repeat my battle-cry—‘To arms all of you!’ If March, 1861, does not find 1,000,000 of Italians in arms, then alas for liberty! alas for the life of Italy! Ah, no! far, far be a thought which I breathe like poison. March, 1861, or, if need be, February, will find us all at our posts. Italians of Calatafimi, Palermo, Ancona, Volturmo, Castelfidardo, and Isernia—and with us every man of the land who is not a coward and a slave—let all of us, rallying round the glorious hero of Palestro, give the last blow to the crumbling edifice of tyranny. Receive, then, my gallant young volunteers, at the honoured conclusion of ten battles, one word of farewell from me. I utter that word with the deepest affection, and from the very bottom of my heart. To-day I am obliged to retire, but for a day only. The hour of battle will find me with you again by the side of the champions of Italian liberty.”

They met—the hero and his followers; but under the frown of the Italian government; and then not till 1862. A Sardinian force was sent to stop the liberator, and he was wounded at Aspromonte by an Italian bullet. All Europe cried shame.



The following letter, dated Turin, September 6th, gives the fullest account we have yet seen of the events which led to the capture of Garibaldi:—

“General Cialdini, upon hearing of Garibaldi’s landing at Melito, in Calabria, lost no time in laying his plan of operations. He directed Generals Revel and Vialardi to occupy the narrow isthmus of Tiriolo, between Nicastro and Catanzaro—a strong position, which, if strongly guarded, most effectually cuts off the extreme peninsula of Calabria from the adjoining mainland. Having thus shut up Garibaldi within this comparatively small compass, Cialdini ordered the royal cruisers—the *Garibaldi*, *Vittorio Emanuele*, and *Tripoli*—to ply along the gulfs of Squillace and St. Eufemia, and so to watch the coasts as to prevent Garibaldi from re-embarking. He then collected a considerable force at Reggio, and, placing Pallavicino at their head, he bade them look out for Garibaldi, to press upon him as closely as possible, so as to drive him towards the divisions of Revel and Vialardi on the isthmus, and whenever they came up with him to attack him, ‘anywhere and anyhow,’ unless he consented to an unconditional surrender. In less than forty-eight hours all the troops had taken their positions.

“Garibaldi, it seems, had landed at Melito with from 2,500 to 3,000 men; but, as he compelled his men to very laborious marches over the mountains, he strewed so many of them on his path, that, according to the report written by the officers of his staff on board the *Duca di Genova*, on the 31st of August, only about 1,500 of them had kept up with him when he took up his position at Aspromonte on the 28th, in the evening. He had, on the previous day, felt his way here and there, and reconnoitred the ground towards Gerace, St. Eufemia, Bagnara, and Palmi; but the first skirmishes with the royal troops soon convinced him that he had to deal with earnest adversaries, and he pitched his camp on the brow of the hill. Pallavicino looked for him along shore; but, upon glancing upwards, he beheld the red shirts on the mountain, west; and, following orders, he instantly divided his troops into three columns, and marched. He had with him the 6th Bersaglieri battalion, part of the 25th battalion of the same corps of light foot, part of the 4th regiment, under Colonel Eberhardt, a Prussian, companion of Garibaldi in 1860, and parts of the 29th and 57th regiments. On the whole, his force does not seem to have exceeded 1,800 men. The summit of Aspromonte consists of a vast triangular table-land, open towards the sea on the north-west, but covered with a wild wood on the inland side, where it joins the main Apennine ridge. Garibaldi had placed his men under cover of the wood, and his head-quarters were in a very small room of one of the two huts rising in the centre of that bleak Alpine platform. The place bears the name ‘I Forstali.’ The night between the 28th and 29th was cold and rainy. There were heavy showers from time to time, and violent gusts of wind, putting out the volunteer bivouac fires. In the evening and the morning scanty provisions were distributed; but the Garibaldian column was too strong to be able to support itself in the mountains, as it was too weak to fight its way through the royal forces. Garibaldi had come to the resolution of dividing his little army into two bands, with intent to direct them through different roads to a given point: but the royalists had already reached Arci; they had fallen-in with the Garibaldian outposts at St. Stefano; and before Garibaldi had collected all his stragglers, previous to a start, Pallavicino was upon him. It was on the 29th (a Friday—unlucky day!) that Pallavicino was at St. Stefano; two hours’ march brought him to the table-land, on a level with the volunteers. Garibaldi crossed a small stream that divided the plain; he moved towards the wood—a very dense pine wood, which mantled the ground on the first undulation of the hills. As the advanced lines of the Bersaglieri reached the brow of the table-land, the whole of the Garibaldian youth had sought the shelter of the wood. It was about noon.

“So far there is little or no discrepancy between the various reports which I have before my eyes; but now I beg you to listen to the two hostile parties, as they tell their story one after another. ‘The troops,’ says the letter of a royal



officer, an eye-witness, 'advanced to the attack; they were received by a rifle-shot, and the fight began; a column of the royal troops turned the left flank of the Garibaldians, and threatened them also in the rear. The volunteers were routed. Pallavicino waved a white handkerchief; the firing ceased, and a *parlementaire* presented himself to Garibaldi. The latter was wounded: seeing the *parlementaire*, he snatched up a revolver to shoot him; his own officers, who were by his side, had to tear the weapon from his hand. He cooled a little, and asked on what conditions they were to treat. 'On no conditions,' was the answer; 'passive surrender, and no terms.' 'If it be so,' Garibaldi replied, 'let us recommence the fire;' but this was impossible. All his camp was in utter disorder, enveloped all round by the royalists; he had to bow his head, and yield to fortune. The struggle had lasted an hour, or little more. There were about twelve killed between the two parties; the wounded were about one hundred.'

"Now for the report of the Garibaldian staff already alluded to:—'Garibaldi was in the centre of the hill slope occupied by his column; he sent his officers all along the front with repeated, express, positive orders not to fire. We were being surrounded on all sides; the Bersaglieri were within shot; they had levelled their pieces; all our column was perfectly still. Not one shout; not one shot. The general alone stood up, with his wide gray plaid cloak lined with red, thrown on his massive shoulders, following the movements of the royalists with his spy-glass, and from time to time turning to repeat the order, 'Do not fire!' The officers took up the cry, and 'Do not fire!' went the round of the whole line. But the troops had, on the contrary, precise orders to attack. The Bersaglieri opened fire, and moved forward. No intimation or summons preceded the fire; no *parlementaire* was sent. The firing deepens; the bullets hissed on all sides round our heads. Unfortunately some of our raw recruits, unaccustomed to such terrible sport, answered by a few random shots; the others did not stir. Every one kept his own ground, some standing, some seated. All the trumpets gave the signal to stop fire; all the officers verbally issued the same order. The troops, on the contrary, set up the signal 'forward,' and advanced with well-sustained fire. The general, always at his post, standing in the midst of the densest shower of balls, again cried, 'Do not fire!' He was uttering those words when two bullets struck him; one, a spent ball, on the thigh of the left leg; another, with full force, on the ankle of the left foot. Garibaldi, at the moment of being wounded, not only stood up, upright, but he assumed a majestic attitude; he took off his hat, and waving it with his left hand, he repeatedly cried, 'Long live Italy! do not fire!' Some of the officers, the nearest to him, removed him, and laid him under a tree. There, with his habitual calmness, he continued to give his orders. The most precise were the following:—'Let them come near. Do not fire!' On all our front the fire had ceased. Presently Menotti was brought to the spot. He also had been hit by a spent ball in the calf of his left leg. He was in great pain, unable to stand. Father and son were laid under the same tree; a group of officers and soldiers gathered round the general. He had lighted a cigar, and was smoking. He said to all, 'Do not fight!' The officers, questioned by their soldiers, also invariably answered, 'Do not fight!' The trumpets, too, never ceased from their signal, 'Stop fire!'—not for our men, but for the troops which fired as they advanced, even when they had come up and were mixed with our volunteers. From the first shot, to this moment, hardly a quarter of an hour elapsed. Here a strange sight presented itself. Friends, relatives, brothers, companions in recent battles, when they fought for their fatherland, meet and recognise each other. Some are clad in the red shirt, others in the regular uniform; and here were shaking hands, embraces, mutual reproaches and upbraidings, especially on the part of the red shirts, who protest and declare that 'all they wanted was Rome.'

"The narrative proceeds, stating that here a lieutenant of the staff (royal) appeared before Garibaldi, who bade him put off his sword, as a *parlementaire* should be unarmed. Other Bersaglieri officers were disarmed in the same manner,











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